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MARTINUS NIJHOFF

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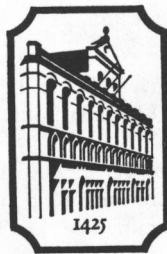
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Jacqueline IJSEWIJN-JACOBS

MAGISTRI ANTHONII HANERON (ca. 1400-1490)
OPERA GRAMMATICA ET RHETORICA

V

DIASYNTHETICA

1. *Traditio*

Haneronis *Diasynthetica* saeculo XV^o senescente quater typis est edita. Libri vero manu scripti, quod scio, non supersunt.

Editiones typis excusae hae sunt :

- A. Sine loco, anno vel typographo; revera autem Coloniae impressum est opus per Johannem Koelhoff Seniore, annis 1475-77. Constat foliis 58 (scilicet a b c d e f⁸ g¹⁰) duodetricenarum linearum, in 4^o. Vacant folia g^{9v} et g¹⁰; impressura gothica cum abbreviationibus satis multis.

Haec editio titulo caret, sed f. a^{1r} legitur : “Disertissimi ac Eruditissimi viri domini et magistri Anthonii Haneron prologus in Diasyntheticam suam feliciter incipit”.

Colophon in f. g^{9r} ita legitur : “Hic tocius Diasyntheticae compendium terminatur”.

Duo huius editionis exstant exemplaria, quae exceptis paucissimis minutiis nihil inter se differunt :

A^b : Hagae Comitum in Bibliotheca Regia (’s-Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek), olim in bibliotheca Ch.-Ant. de la Serna Santander. Tribus locis manus saeculi XVⁱ notulas addit : f. d^{7r} (= f. 31) in margine dextra iuxta nomen “oracius” in textu obvium scripsit : Horatius; f. f^{2v} in ima pagina, ubi capitulum XV incipit, notavit : “Quandoque pro preterito imperfecto presentis temporis indicativi modi, ut : “dictus flere ipse”, id est autem “sive flevi”. Quandoque pro participio presentis temporis, ut : “me discedere flebant”; ff. g^{9v-10r} exhibet schema diversorum generum epistolarum et in fine tres verborum lineae, quarum una et dimidia legi possunt, dimidia vero et una erasae sunt. Legitur : “Hec figura declarat libellum sequentem Anthonii videlicet Haneronis de brevibus epistolis edendis”. Unde concludi licet Diasyntheticam olim cum tractatu de brevibus epistolis una editam vel saltem compactam esse.

Libellum descripsit Dra. Lotte Hellinga in Catalogo N° 262 Mennonis Hertzberger, *Incunables 1-75; Illustrated Books 76-150* (Baarn, 1970), pp. 5-6, ubi et folii primi recti praebetur imago phototypica.

A¹: Augustae Treverorum in bibliotheca publica (Stadtbibliothek Trier), in quam bibliothecam pervenit e Collegio S.J. Moguntiacensi. Vide E. Voullième, *Die Inkunabeln der öffentlichen Bibliothek und der kleineren Büchersammlungen der Stadt Trier* (Lipsiae, 1910), p. 29 n° 438.

- B. Sine loco, anno vel typographo; revera autem Daventriae, per Richardum Paffraet, ca. 1480. Constat foliis 54 (scil. a-d⁸ e⁶ f⁸ g⁸) tricenarum linearum, in 4°. Vacant folia g^{7v} et g⁸; impressura gothica cum abbreviationibus satis multis.

Haec etiam editio titulo caret. Incipit (f. a^{1r}) ab iisdem verbis atque editio Coloniensis. Nec differt colophon (f. g^{7v}) nisi quod “totius” legitur pro “tocius”.

Unum exstat exemplar, quod servatur in Seminario Dioecetano Leodiensi (Liège, Séminaire diocésain, Rue des Prémontrés 40). Vide M.-L. Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique*, 4 vols. (Bruxellis, 1932), II, 385-386, n° 1847.

Textus huius editionis paucis in locis verbum aliquod habet ab editione A diversum vel quod in A non legitur. Ceterum sunt simillimae.

- C. Goudae, per Gerardum Leeu, 1481. Constat foliis 94 (scil. a-l⁸ m⁶) vicenarum septenarum linearum, in 4°. Vacat f. m^{6v}; impressura gothica cum abbreviationibus. Manus vetus in summo folio m^{6v} haec scripsit:

Quantopere grammaticae

Engberti Leydensis grammatica in versu.

Antonius Haneron de multipotentia activi

regiminis seu de diasynthetica.

Alia manus in imo folio notavit: Este libro costo en Londres 4. penins por junio de.1522. y el ducado de oro vale. 54.penins. Esta Registrado 1280.

Titulus editionis (f. a^{1r}): “De multipotencia activi regiminis dictionum”. In summo folio vetus manus titulum repetiit excepto ultimo verbo.

Colophon in f. [m⁶]: “Impressum goude per me Gerardum/Leeu Anno Domini M°.cccc° octua-/gesimo primo”.

Unum exstat exemplar, quod servatur Hispali in Bibliotheca Capitulari et Columbina (Sevilla, Biblioteca Capitolar y Colombina). Vide *Biblioteca Colombina. Catalogo de sus libros impresos* (Hispali, 1894), III, 269.

Haec editio valde differt a ceteris. Nam prologi pars prior (i.e. paragraphi 1-4 meae editionis) omissa est in eiusque locum successit textus, quem in appendice I edidi. De momento historico huius novi textus vide J. IJsewijn, “The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries”, in *Itinerarium Italicum...* P. O. Kristeller, eds. J. Oberman & Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leidae, 1975), 193-301 (p. 207). Singulis porro capitulis Haneronianis Eng(el)bertus Schut Leidensis summarium addidit versibus confectum vel “metrificatum”. In fine tandem libri legitur epilogus versibus quoque conscriptus, qui totius Diasyntheticae argumentum repetit. Qui epilogus his verbis introducit, f. [l^{8v}]: “Quoniam

pauca melius quam multa memorie infiguntur, que de iuncturis sparsim superius ac late explicata sunt, quam brevissimis erunt versibus epylogice repetenda. Et sua cuique est iuncture prefigenda figura ut quota suo sit queque in ordine pernoscatur”. Hic epilogus f. [m^{6r}] ante colophonem hoc versu terminatur: “Gloria sit Patri, Nato cum Flamine sancto”. Auctor catalogi Bibliothecae Columbinæ epilogum ab Antonio Haneron compositum esse asserit neque tamen probat. Ego quidem vix credo, atque hos etiam versiculos Engelberto Schut potius tribuam.

Engelberti versus edendi potius sunt una cum *Arte eius Dictaminis*, quæ maxima ex parte est Haneronis *Tractatus de Brevibus Epistolis* metrificatus.

Ipsius Diasyntheticae verba hac in editione Goudana non multum discrepant a prioribus A et B, saepius tamen B sequitur quam A. Interdum textum correxit Schut (e.g. I 2.1 et 3.2; III 6.1), interdum et verbum aliquod addidit perspicuitatis causa.

- D. Antverpiæ, per Gerardum Leeu, 28 Maii 1487. Constat foliis 40 (scil. a-1⁶ g⁴) tricenarum senarum maxime linearum, in 4°. Impressura gothica cum abbreviationibus.

Opus titulo caret sed incipit ab iisdem verbis atque editiones A et B: “Disertissimi...prologus in Dyasintheticam suam feliciter incipit”. Colophon in f. [g^{4r}], ll. 12-16: “Disertissimi ac eruditissimi viri domini & magistri/ Anthonii Haneron dyasinthetica epylogice/repetita feliciter explicit. Impressa Antwer-/pie per me Gerardum Leeu Anno Domini M./CCCC.lxxxvij..quinto Kalendas Iunias”. In eodem folio averso legitur: “Dyasinthetica magistri Anthonii Haneron”. Sequitur typographi signum maius.

Duo reperta sunt huius editionis exemplaria, integrum unum, alterum vero mutilum:

D^g: Exstat in Bibliotheca Augustana Guelpherbytana (Wolfenbüttel) et descriptum est a M. F. A. G. Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XV^e siècle* (Hagae Comitum, 1874), p. 251 n° 908. Hoc exemplar, cum primum Haneronis opera edenda suscepissem, in bibliotheca Guelpherbytana non iam inveniri mihi adseveratum est, itaque in praefatione editionis meae tractatus *De Coloribus Verborum* (HL 24 [1975], 34) librum desiderari scripsi. Litteris autem 9^a Junii 1976 ad me datis Anna-Maria Deegen mihi nuntiavit exemplar post renovatam investigationem repertum tandem esse in volumine quodam cum tribus aliis libris compactum. Signatum est Qu H 64.

D^h: Hoc exemplar, cuius desideratur ultimum folium g⁴, servatur Hispali in Bibliotheca Capitulari Columbina una cum editione C Goudana: vide Catalogum laudatum, pp. 269-270.

Editio Antverpiensis, quæ in verbis Diasyntheticae editionem Coloniensem A proxime sequitur, aliquantum tamen differt a tribus praecedentibus. Non habet neque prologum novum neque versus Schutianos. In iis autem locis ubi ABC exempla Teutonica adferunt D plerumque — quamquam non semper! — addit versionem Gallicam ac pauca verba quibus haec versio introducitur. Interdum versio Gallica inseritur sed non praenuntiatur. Unde deduxerim haec additamenta non ab ipso Hanerone sed a quodam editore satis neglegenti fluxisse.

Habet tandem editio Antverpiensis epilogum, qui et in C reperitur. In f. f^{5v} legitur ut in A et B: "Hic totius dyasynthetice compendium terminatur". In f. f^{6r} incipit epilogus metrificatus ab iisdem ipsis verbis "Quoniam pauca...", quibus et in C.

2. *Adnotatio critica*

Editio quae sequitur maxime in editione Coloniensi(A) nititur. Ubi vero textus eius aperte corruptus est, auxilio editionis Daventriensis (B), interdum etiam et Goudanae(C) correxi. Orthographia editionum veterum tam incerta est atque ex arbitrio facta, imprimis quod usum attinet c/t et i/y litterarum ut nulla lex vel regula inde deduci possit. Quam ob rem in apparatu critico neglexi neque in editione mea usum illum incompositum ad certiores normas revocavi.

*
* *

Gratias ago bibliothecariis Hagano, Leodiensi, Hispalensi et Guelpherbytano, qui photocopias miserunt et quaestionibus meis perhumaniter responderunt; item Rev^o Abbati Eligio Dekkers et Doctoribus W. Van Hamel et D. Van den Auweele, qui in locis Augustinianis, Aristotelicis et iuridicis inveniendis auxilio adfuere.

*
* *

Disertissimi ac eruditissimi viri domini et magistri Anthonii Haneron prologus in Diasintheticam suam feliciter incipit.

I 1. Etsi te studii, Gerarde, non pigeat, quemdam tamen libellum, regulas omnes breviter complexum grammaticae facultatis tibi ut scriberem me summopere flagitasti; et id quidem non ociose; sed cum vita sit brevis, ars vero longa, huius celeriter nactus perfectionem, ad alias properares. 2. Nempe grammaticam prescisse necesse est eum qui velit artes reliquas adipisci. Quo enim pacto quis vel theologiae, vel civilis iuris vel cuiuslibet artium aliarum habuerit noticiam qui latinam linguam non norit? Quomodo latinum intelligeret qui latinum non intelligat ydeoma, significantias verborum modosque, congruam denique nexionem? 3. Qua deinceps ratione quempiam expertem grammaticae expertum rhetorice fore credideris, presertim cum ad rhetoricam orationem latinitas nonnichil attineat et puritas sermonis? 4. Itaque tu properans ad oratoriam facultatem et aspirans, prudenter rogitasti ut artis precepta grammaticae tibi quam celerrimum conscriberem. Ego profecto, tum cupiditate tui profectus, tum necessitudine paternis tuis aborta beneficiis, huic tue preci honeste et facili libens adero. 5. Itaque plano sermone, quo res omnis cognitu sit facilius precepta complectar. Verumtamen scire te volo eum, qui huic libello studebit, prius significationes dictionum et omnia omnium accidentia dictionum nosse oportere; tum quas subiungam iuncturas omnium partium orationis seriatim ponendas facile cognoscet.

II 1. Quo huius libelli studium minus gignat fastidii, eum duxi in septenos libellulos partiendum. 2. In primo quippe primum regule quaedam ponuntur generales omnibus profuturæ congruitatibus; deinceps speciatim docebitur de relatione nominis, prius substantivi, postea adiectivi. 3. In secundo vero de relatione pronominis, adverbiorum, coniunctionum, prepositionum, interiectionum. 4. In tertio de regulis generalibus omnium verborum, et de verborum relatione substantivorum. 5. In quarto de regulis preambulis ad intelligendum regimen absolutorum verborum et adiectivorum necessariis, de regimine ver-

I 1-4 *omisit C, quae pro iis habet diversam prologi partem infra in appendice I relata.*

5 verumtamen: verumptamen, B. — *Post volo add.* CD: qui istud utilitatis obtentu dignabere opus pervisere. — tum: tamen, AD.

II 2 relatione: regimine, CD.

3 relatione: regimine, CD.

4 et ... substantivorum: et de iuncturis substantivorum verborum et vocativorum, D.

borum absolutorum, postea adiectivorum. 6. In quinto de iuncturis verborum passivorum deque iuncturis impersonalium verborum infinitivorum. 7. Participiorum, gerundiorum, supinorum iuncturas liber VI complectetur. 8. Septimus et novissimus erit de modo iuncturas simplices excerpenti, de modo ordinandi eas, de distinctionibus sive pausis. 9. Cognoscendum est me de activo regimine prelocutum. Videndum est itaque que dictio regat : si nomen substantivum fuerit, suo queretur in loco; sin adiectivum vel pars alia quelibet orationis, pariformiter suo sub titulo poterit inveniri.

III Sequitur ordo dicendorum :

De regulis generalibus omnium congruitatum	ca. 1
De regimine nominis substantivi	ca. 2
De iuncturis adiectivorum	ca. 3
De iuncturis pronominum	ca. 4
De regulis adverbiorum	ca. 5 et 6
De iuncturis coniunctionum	ca. 7
De iuncturis prepositionum	ca. 8
De iuncturis interiectionum	ca. 9
De regulis generalibus omnium verborum	ca. 10
De iuncturis verborum substantivorum et vocativorum	ca. 11
De iuncturis verborum adiectivorum	ca. 12
De iuncturis respectivorum	ca. 13
De iuncturis verborum passivorum	ca. 14
De iuncturis infinitivorum	ca. 15
De iuncturis participiorum	ca. 16
De iuncturis gerundiorum	ca. 17
De iuncturis supinorum	ca. 18
De excerptione iuncturarum	ca. 19
De regulis construendi	ca. 20
De modo clausulas punctuandi	ca. 21

6 deque : et de, B.

7 supinorum : *om.* D.

9 inveniri : inventi, B; Explicit prologus : *add.* D.

III B capitula numerorum notis Romanis (I, II ...) *distinxit*. D *libros addit et singulorum librorum capitula numerat, hoc modo* : Liber primus continet in se tria capitula (*sequitur argumentum ut in ABC*), ca. primum; ... ca. secundum; ... ca. tertium. Secundus liber continet in se sex capitula ... ca. primum; ... ca. secundum et tertium; ... ca. quartum; ... ca. quintum; ... ca. sextum. Tercius liber continet in se duo capitula ...

I

INCIPIT LIBER PRIMUS GRAMMATICAE PARTIS,
QUE DYASINTHETICA APPELLATUR

1 Liber primus de regulis generalibus omnium congruitatum pertractat. Nam velut in aliis accidit, ita quoque in hoc libro, ut prius de communibus confusisque tractandum sit, postea vero de specialibus. Sunt itaque regule novemdecim generales.

2 1. Prima regula : “Quo casu queris, sic respondere teneris”; ut : *Cuius est? Petri. Cui dedisti? Petro. Quem vides? Petrum*, et sic consequenter. 2. Scias quod hec brevis regula est fundamentum omnis congruitatis, quia quamlibet iuncturam latinitatis quedam precedere potest interrogatio. Et qui latine loquitur, finget quod prius se ipse interrogasset, et tali fide interrogatori conformiter respondebit, sicut magis intelligetur in iuncturis sequentibus.

3 1. Secunda regula est : Omnibus casibus omnium nominum certi quidam articuli preponuntur in Theutonico; ut nominativo *een*, genitivo *des*, dativo *dem*, accusativo *den*, vocativo *o*, ablativo *van of mit*; Nominativo plurali *die*, genitivo *der*, dativo *den*, accusativo *die* etc.

2. Quomodo dicimus enim : Magister, *een meyster*; magistri, *des meysters*; magistro, *dem meyster*; magistrum, *den meyster*; o magister, *o meyster*; a magistro, *van dem meyster*. Et pluraliter : magistri in nominativo, *die meysters*; magistrorum, *der meysteren*; magistris, *dem meysteren*; magistrorum, *die meysters*; o magistri, *o meysters*, a magistris, *van den meysteren*.

4 1. Tercia regula : Casus nominum sic Teuthonice interrogantur : pro nominativo, *wie*; pro genitivo, *wes*; pro dativo, *wyem*; pro accusativo, *wyem*; pro ablativo, *van wyem of myt wyem* etc. Pro vocativo autem non fieri potest interrogatio. 2. Hec quippe regula iuncta cum prima mirabilem habet utilitatem. Quando enim vis loqui

ca. primum; ... ca. secundum. Quartus liber habet duo capitula ... ca. primum; ... ca. secundum. Quintus liber continet duo capitula ... (ut supra). Sextus liber continet tria capitula ... (ut supra). Septimus liber continet tria capitula ... (ut supra).

1 1 communibus : omnibus, C.

2 1 interrogasset : interrogaverit, C.

3 1-2 Theutonico et quae sequuntur in D exemplis Gallicis aucta sunt : vide appendicem II.

2 den meyster : dem m., AB.

4 1 vide appendicem II, ubi versio D. — van wem off, B.

latinum, finge quod quelibet clausula a te in debito Teutonico interrogetur, et iuxta hoc responde secundum primam regulam. Ut si interrogaris per *quis*, pone nominativum; per *cuius*, pone genitivum, et sic de aliis.

5 Quarta regula sequitur ex predictis : dictio de qua potest interrogari Teutonice *wye* regit nominativum; de qua interrogatur *wes*, genitivum regit; de qua *wyem*, dativum; de qua *van wyem*, ablativum, et sic de aliis, ut : *Wye leyster? de meyster*, magister; *Wes is dit bock?* magistri; *Wyeme gheve gijt?* magistro.

6 1. Quinta regula et multum utilis : omnes obliqui servant regimen sui nominativi, et omnia verba cuiuscumque temporis vel modi eundem regunt casum, quem regit suum presens tempus indicativi modi.

2. De obliquis : ut, sicut dicitur *capucium Symonis*, ita dicitur *capucio Symonis*. 3. De verbis : ut, sicut dicitur : *amo Bartam*, ita quoque dicitur : *amabam, amavissem, amare Bartam*.

7 1. Sexta regula est : adiectiva non possunt communiter nisi in neutro genere substantivari, ut : *album currit*, id est : *alba res; malum est aegrotare*. 2. Dixi autem “communiter” propter ablativos quinque femineos “*mea, tua, sua, nostra, vestra*”, qui cum verbo “*interest*” vel “*refert*” substantive ponuntur.

8 Septima regula : adiectivum et substantivum suum non faciunt nisi unum suppositum. Dicitur enim : “*Vir bonus orat*”, et non : “*orant*”.

9 1. Octava regula : Duo substantiva immediate iuncta, que rem pertinent ad eandem, faciunt unum significatum; igitur erunt eiusdem casus, sed possunt esse diversorum generum, ut : *Animal homo currit*. Vel diversorum numerorum, si unum illorum careat numero singulari, ut : *Civitas Athene est pulcra*. 2. Illa scilicet ad idem pertinent, que de se invicem possunt affirmari, ut quia bene dicitur “*animal est homo*”, ergo homo est animal, ideo homo et animal pertinent ad idem.

3. Et quod duorum substantivorum communius fuerit, precedet. Non enim bene dicitur “*homo animal currit*”, sed “*animal homo currit*”.

4. Talis quippe figura loquendi vocatur appositio.

10 1. Nona regula est : Duo singularia iuncta disiunctive non faciunt nisi unum numerum singularem, sed iuncta copulative equivalent plurali

2 Teutonico : vulgari, D.

5 vide appendicem II, ubi versio D. — *wyem* : *wem*, B (*bis*).

6 2 Symonis : Petri, C (*bis*).

3 Bartam : Katherinam, C; Margaretam, D (*bis*).

numero. 2. De disiunctivis ut : *Socrates vel Plato currit*. De coniunctis ut : *Johannes et Paulus disputant*.

11 1. Decima regula : Adiectivum et substantivum in tribus conveniunt, scilicet : genere, numero et casu, ut : *Vir bellicosus; sponsa pudica; altum mare*. 2. Hec autem regula tres habet excepciones. Prima est : Si duo substantiva differunt in genere, adiectivum eis commune debet convenire cum illo, quod est prioris generis, ut cum illo, quod est generis masculini, aut cum illo, quod est feminei generis si non sit masculini, ut : *Johannes et Maria sunt albi; Civitas et castrum sunt pulcre*. 3. Et in talibus locutionibus est figura quedam conceptio generum appellata. Hec aliquando fit explicite, ut in exemplis predictis; aliquando implicite, ut : *Symon cum Maria sunt albi*; aut, demonstratis Eustachio et Katherina : *Uterque est malus*. Item : *Utraque formose me iudice sunt venerande*. Aut per collectivum, ut : *Pars hominum validi turres et menia scandunt*. Et hoc idem etiam resumitur potest in decima quinta regula, videlicet de supposito et apposito. 4. Secunda exceptio est : Substantivum multitudinis collectivum per quedam adiectiva parti potest ab eo genere, numero vel casu differentia. Genere, ut : *Vidi gentem percussam unum gladio, alium baculo*. Numero, ut : *Isti legunt, unus grammaticam, alius logicam*. De disconvenientia in tribus simul, ut : *Huius gentis alii sunt percussi baculo, alii spata*. 5. Et in talibus loquendi modis est quedam figura vocata proleptis. Que aliquando fit explicite, ut in dictis exemplis; aliquando implicite, ut : *Hec volucrum canit*. 6. Tercia : Quando duo substantiva habent adiectivum eis commune positum in medio eorum, tantum requirit adiectivum convenientiam cum priore substantivo, ut : *Tu es albus et Maria; Tu es piger et non Katherina*. 7. Talis autem modus loquendi zeuma vocatur. Est etiam de istis exceptio : *Pars hominum validi, utraque formose*, in quibus nomini colectivo vel distributivo adduntur adiectiva generis alterius et etiam numeri.

12 Undecima regula est : Verbum personale semper est appositum, sive habeat suppositum expressum, ut *ego*.

13 Duodecima regula est : Suppositum exprimi communiter non

11 1 ..., in genere, BC; genere scilicet, D. — casu : in casu, B.

2 regula tres : tres regula, B. — feminei : feminini, D.

3 quaedam, *omm*. BC.

5 in exemplis predictis, D.

12 ut ego : sive non, B.

13 est *om*. D.

oportet in verbis prime vel secunde persone, ut : “Lego, legis”; nec etiam in verbis excepte actionis soli Deo aut nature convenientibus, ut : “Pluit, gelat”; in aliis autem oportet.

14 Terciadecima regula : Suppositum verbi personalis est nomen substantivum solum, ut : *Johannes studet*; vel adiectivum cum substantivo, ut : *Vir bonus orat*; vel pronomen primitivum loco nominis, ut : *Ille legit*; vel infinitivus, ut : *Legere est bonum*; et quandoque infinitivus cum accusativo, ut : *Socratem legere est bonum*; et alia que hoc versu continentur : *Infi materies attri dictum simul appel*.

15 Quartadecima regula est : Omnia nomina, pronomina et participia sunt tercię persone, exceptis vocativis casibus et hoc pronomine “tu” cum suis casibus, quod est secunde persone, et pronomine “ego” cum suis casibus. quod est prime persone.

16 1. Quintadecima regula : Suppositum et appositum debent convenire in tribus accidentibus, scilicet in numero, in persona et in rectitudine. 2. Intellige per rectitudinem quod suppositum verbi personalis finiti modi sit semper nominativi casus, et suppositum verbi personalis infinitivi modi sit accusativi casus, ut : *Tu curris*; *Johannes studet*; *ego conor*. De apposis infinitivi modi, ut : *Verum est Johannem studere ferventer*; *Me legere est bonum*. 3. Hec profecto regula tres habet exceptiones.

Prima exceptio est : Si duo supposita diversarum personarum habeant unum appositum, tunc ipsum conveniet cum supposito prioris persone, ut : *Ego, Simon, scribo*; *Tu, Gerardus, studes*; *Tu qui es in celis*; *Ego et Johannes lusimus*; *Tu et Simon pilastis*. 4. Pro quo notandum quod quandoque talia duo supposita diversarum personarum spectant ad idem, et tunc iunguntur sine coniunctione media, ut : *Ego pauper ludo*. 5. Et dicitur ibi esse figura “evocacionis”. Que aliquando fit explicite, ut in dictis exemplis, aliquando implicite, ut : *Iste liber est mei, qui lego*; *Video te, qui sedes*. 6. Quandoque vero talia supposita diversarum personarum pertinent ad diversa et coniunctio mediat ut : *Ego et Conradus studemus*; *Tu et Johannes lusistis*. 7. Et in talibus locutionibus est figura quedam vocata “conceptio personarum”. Que aliquando fit explicite, ut in dictis exemplis, quandoque implicite, ut :

16 1 regula est, D. — et in persona, C.

2 ...conor; nos ludimus; vos scribitis; illi legunt, D. — De apposito, C.

4 quandocumque, C.

6 Conradus : Cornelius, C; Johannes, D. — Johannes : Jacobus, D.

7 quandoque vero, C.

Ego cum Petro studemus; Johannes et Petrus mecum currimus. Ex quibus vides magnam propinquitatem evocationis et conceptionis. 8. Secunda exceptio est quando prolensis fit, de qua in decima regula superius vidisti. Facit equidem prolensis quandoque disconvenientiam in numero, ut : *Isti legunt unus grammaticam, alius rethoricam*, quandoque in persona, ut : *Nos disputamus, alii in philosophia, alii in theologia.* Item : *Isti percusserunt, tu unum, alius alium.* 9. Hic est disconvenientia in numero pariter et persona in prolensi. Que nonnumquam obscure magis implicite fit, absque manifesta partitione multitudinis, ut : *Alter alterius onera portate; Debetis alter alterius lavare pedes.* 10. Tercia exceptio fit per zeuma, de quo visum est supra in fine decime regule. Et id quidem fit quando bina supposita unum habent appositum in medio eorum positum. Tunc ipsum solum conveniet cum priore supposito, ut : *Johannes studet et ego; Nullus ludit nisi tu; Ego non lego sed tu; Ita bene lectionem meam scio sicut tu; Ego sum fortior quam Henricus.* 11. Quandoque autem fit tale zeuma magis obscure, quando appositum non in medio ponitur suppositorum, sed in principio clausule vel in fine. In principio, ut : *Estis omnes alacres ad discendum, sed non ego.* In fine, ut : *Nichil hic nisi carmina desunt.*

17 1. Decimasexta regula est : Relativum pronominale et suum antecedens debent convenire in duobus, scilicet in genere et in numero, sed in casu aliquando differunt, ut : *Diligo Gerardum, qui studet*; aliquando in casu conveniunt, ut : *Socrates, qui currit, movetur.* 2. Dixi autem “pronominale”, quia relativa nominalia in genere quandoque differunt a suis antecedentibus, ut : *Paries est albus, et tale est lac.* 3. Sed habet hec regula exceptionem, quando non fit relatio antecedentis expressi, sed alterius in eo subintellecti ut : *Rex est Traiecti, patriae que prevalet omni.* Et : *Hec est bona gens; Deus est protector eorum.*

18 1. Septimadecima regula : Nominativus casus poni potest absolute tribus modis, videlicet : causa relationis sequentis, ut ipsa locum habeat construendi, ut : *Virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt;*

9 in prolensi : pro prolensi, D.

11 ...desunt. Item : Quid enim nisi vota supersunt, etc., B.

17 2 antecedentibus, *scripsi*; antedecentibus, C; accidentibus, ABD.

3 Sed hec reg. exc. habet, D. — protector eorum : *omm.* ACD.

18 1 Decimaseptima, D. — regula est, C.

vel dicendo : *Magister noster ipse statim veniet*. 2. Secundo modo propter brevitatem, cum satis possit intelligi verbum, a quo debeat regi, ut : *Benedicite dominus*, subintelligitur “benedicat”, vel in titulis librorum, ut : *Liber Virgilii*, intelligitur “incipit”. 3. Tercio propter dubium tollendum, ut : *In convertendo dominus captivitatem Syon*. 4. Scias quod ab aliquibus plures modi ponuntur, sed omnes sub istis tribus possunt comprehendi.

19 Decimaoctava regula : Vocativus casus semper ponitur absolute cum isto adverbio vocandi “o”.

20 1. Decimanona regula est : Ablativus casus, positus sic quod possit exponi cum verbo per istas coniunctiones “si, quia, quando”, aut proportionales, ponitur absolute. Ut : *Sole lucente, dies est*, id est : *quia sol lucet*, vel *quando sol lucet*; *Magistro legente, pueri proficiunt*, id est : *quando magister legit*. 2. Scias quod ad hoc, quod possit fieri talis expositio ablativi per verbum et dictas coniunctiones, requiritur aliquod istorum trium, scilicet quod ibi sit clausula nominis cum participio ut in dictis exemplis, videlicet : *Sole lucente, dies est*; vel : *magistro legente, pueri proficiunt*; vel quod sit loco participii nomen verbale participio equivalens, ut : *Natus sum rege Latino*, id est : *regnante*; et hic : *Te duce et adiutore, bene vincemus*, id est : *si dux sis et adiutor*; aut quod ibi sit participium solum substantivatum, ut : *Viso de nomine, videndum est de verbo*; ubi iste ablativus “viso” ponitur absolute, et est participium huius verbi impersonalis “videtur”. 3. Ubi debes notare quod, sicut verbum personale passivum habet unum participium preteriti temporis ad supplementum sui preteriti perfecti, ut “videor / visus sum”, ita et impersonale passive vocis ut “videtur / visum est vel fuit”. Et similiter dicas de participio futuri temporis in -dum terminato. 4. Et sunt casualia impersonalia, velut gerundia ab impersonalibus verbis descendencia, nec inveniuntur nisi in neutro genere, et sic in nominativo ut “visum est”, in accusativo ut “visum esse”, in ablativo ut “viso”. Et similiter “videndum, videndo”; “lectus, lecto”; “legendum, legendo”. 5. Sicut tamen participia personalia

4 tribus modis, C.

20 2 videlicet, om. D.

3 videor : video, C.

4 sunt : sicut, C. — lectum, B.

18 3 *Psalm*. CXXV 1.

exponuntur per verbum personale ut : *Platone viso*, id est : *postquam Plato visus est*, ita talia participia impersonalia absolute posita exponuntur per suum verbum impersonale, ut : *Viso de nomine*, id est : *postquam visum est de nomine*. Neque oportet talibus participiis addi aliud nomen pro substantivo, sicut nec suis verbis impersonalibus addi oportet nominativum. 6. Quod idem et eodem modo dicas in participio futuro in -do terminato, ut : *Videndo quid sit verbum*, *prius de nomine videatur*, id est : *cum in futuro videbitur quid sit verbum*. De hiis omnibus plura dicam inferius. 7. Item nota quod apud antiquos inveniuntur nominativi positi absolute per omnia, sicut ablativi, et per “dum, si, quia” et similia omnino similiter exponebantur secundum regulam ablativorum, ut : *Plato veniens*, *Socrates legit*, id est : *dum Plato veniebat*; item *Numeri*, XX° : *Da nobis, domine, thesaurum tuum, fontem aque vive, ut saciati cesset murmuratio*, id est : *ipsis saciatis*. 8. Simile est illud : *Cuius humilitatem dominus respiciens, angelo nunciante concepit virgo filium Dei*, id est : *cuius humilitatem domino respiciente*. Et in Collecta Nativitatis Marie virginis : *Ut eius intercessionibus placatus a te de instantibus periculis eruamur*, id est : *te placato*. 9. Sed talis modus loquendi per nominativum positum absolute iam non est in usu.

II

De regulis nominis substantivi

Capitulum II^m

1 1. In secundo capitulo tractandum erit de regimine nominis substantivi. Et continebit octo iuncturas, quibus regule due generales preponuntur.

2. Prima est : Regimen fit ut pars regens determinetur per partem rectam. Ideo nomina propria, que sunt ita determinata ut non possint ulterius determinari, nichil proprie regunt. Ex eadem causa nec pronomina nisi ex causa, ut infra dicam. 3. Scias quod pars regens deter-

8 virginis, om. D.

II *titulus in C* : De iuncturis nominum substantivorum; *in D* : De regimine nominis substantivi.

20 7 *Numeri* XX 6 : Domine ... aperi eis thesaurum etc.

20 8 *Festum Nativitatis B.M.V. celebratur 8^a Sept.*

minatur per partem rectam ut, cum dico *liber* nescitur de quo libro loquar. Sed hoc determinatur cum additur *Petri* vel *Johannis*. 4. Nota tamen quod propria nomina inveniuntur improprie regere secundum quod in eis intelligitur unum appellativum, ut : *Dalida Sansonis*, “uxor” subintelligitur, et cum dicitur *Maria Jacobi*, subintelligitur “mater”. Et sic communiter dici solet : *Gerardus Wilhelmi*, supple “filius”; *Henricus Petri*, supple “nepos”. 5. Item sic improprie habent propria nomina etiam regimen partitivum, de quo infra dicitur in pronomine, ut : *Vidi multos homines, quorum Socrates erat albus, Plato niger*. 6. Et sic Boetius in primo *De Consolatione* dicit : *Multisque, quorum Socrates* etc., ubi subintelligitur unum appellativum, videlicet “unus” : *quorum unus* scilicet *Socrates*.

2 1. Secunda regula est : Quando duo substantiva diversa significantia immediate coniunguntur, tunc ultimum debet esse genitivi casus, ut : *Cappa Socratis; liber Gerardi; equus Symonis*. 2. Scias quod hec brevis regula complectitur omnes iuncturas nominis substantivi. 3. Sed non semper potest fieri talis unio duorum substantivorum immediate in eadem clausula. Non enim dicitur proprie : *Homo equi*, vel *equus asini*, vel *Socrates cappe*. Sed quando possit aut non possit fieri, scire poteris considerando ad Teutonicum : que enim videbis posse in tuo Teutonico immediate coniungi, illa etiam secundum secundam regulam possunt uniri.

3 1. Prima iunctura substantivi est relativi logicalis cum genitivo rei, ad quam refertur, ut : *Pater Conradi; filius Petri, pater filii; filius patris*. Et potest hec regula quadrupliciter applicari. 2. Scias quod in hac iunctura sunt hee locutiones : *Imago Herculis; dominus Hollandie, Comes Flandrie, Rex Francie*, et generaliter cum capiuntur nomina officiorum, prelaturarum, dominationum simul et subiectionum, ut : *servus* vel *balivus talis domini*.

4 1. Secunda iunctura est substantivi rei mensurate cum genitivo mesure aut econverso. 2. Scias etiam istud habere veritatem in diversis mensuris. Primo in mensura temporis, ut : *Puer octo annorum*; secundo in mensura precii, ut : *Salmo trium solidorum*; tercio in mensura

1 4 Dalila, A¹.

2 3 Teutonicum : tuum vulgare, D. — Teutonicum : tuo vulgari, D.

3 1 iunctura est, C. — loycalis, D. — Conrardi, C.

2 domini etc., D.

magnitudinis, ut : *Lignum sex pedum*; quarto in mensura numeri, ut : *Turba decem hominum*; quinto in mensura ponderis, ut : *Pix trium librarum*. 3. Est autem hoc mutuuum regimen, ut : *Vinum quarte*, et *quarta vini*; *modius bladi*, et *bladum modii*; *multum vel parum vini*, vel *plus vini*. 4. Ymo et si ipsa mensura adverbialiter importaretur, retinetur vis huius iuncture, ut : *Satis vini*; *magis vini*. Sic quod dictum est in Salustio : *Satis eloquentie, sapientie parum*. 5. Et communiter ista tria “multum, plus, plurimum” et eis opposita hanc iuncturam servant. Et sic dicitur per hanc iuncturam *duo milia virorum*. Quamvis possit etiam dici *duo milia viri*, secundum octavam regulam generalem prius positam.

5 1. Tercia iunctura est substantivi effectus cum genitivo cause efficientis, finalis et materialis et ablativo formalis, ut : *Homo humanitate homo*; *liber Aristotelis*; *anulus auri*; *pudor culpe*; *malleus ferri*; *ara triumphi*. 2. Scias quod sunt quatuor genera causarum, videlicet causa formalis, a qua res suam denominationem capit, ut ab humanitate homo, ab albedine album, a paternitate pater, et resolvitur communiter in “per” vel “propter”, ut : *Homo humanitate*, id est : *per* vel *propter humanitatem*. 3. Secunda causa est materialis, videlicet de qua res constituitur, vel in qua res sustentatur, et resolvitur communiter in “de” vel in “in”, ut : *Cultellus ferri*, id est : *de ferro*; *albus facie*, id est : *in facie*, quia facies est res sustentans ipsam albedinem. 4. Tercia causa est efficiens que rem facit, et resolvitur communiter in “a” vel in “ab”, ut : *Liber Aristotilis*, id est : *liber factus ab Aristotile*; *epistola Pauli*, id est : *facta a Paulo*; *pudor culpe*, id est : *procedens a culpa*; *ictus baculi*, id est : *factus a baculo*. 5. Quarta causa est finalis, et resolvitur communiter in “propter”, ut : *Ara triumphi*, id est : *facta propter triumphum*; *labor scientie*, id est : *factus propter scientiam adquirendam*. 6. Et est hoc regimen quandoque mutuuum, ut : *Virga timoris*, id est : *faciens timorem*; *locus horroris*, id est : *incutiens horrorem*; *scola artium*, id est : *in quibus leguntur artes*; *dies leticie*,

4 2 quinta, C. — ponderum, CD.

3 hoc : hic, BCD.

4 importetur, BC. — Sic quod : sicque, C.

5 Et sic : E sic, B.

5 1 iunctura : regula, A. — Aristotilis, D.

4 liber factus : factus, D.

6 honoris ... honorem, A.

4 4 Sall., *Cat.* 5.4.

id est: *in qua est leticia; tempus doloris*, id est: *in quo dolor est*.

7. Locum quippe et tempus ad causam materiale reducimus, unde in istis potest fieri conversio. Dicitur enim “dies leticie” vel “leticia huius diei”; “bella huius temporis” vel “tempus belli”; “tempus vindemiarum”. 8. Similiter et de loco dicitur “aurum Arabie”, “pannus Anglie”. Quamvis ad significandum locum communiter ponatur propositio cum ablativo, ut: *De Anglia; de Arabia*.

6 1. Quarta iunctura est substantivi rei habite cum genitivo rei habentis; loco autem genitivi potest poni hoc pronomen “suum”, ut: *Caput Socratis; equus Petri*. Diceretur enim “caput suum”, “equus suus”. 2. Scias quod hec iunctura est amplissima propter multitudinem rerum habitatum, quas reducere possum ad tres generales modos.

3. Primo modo habentur res omnino intrinsece; sic tu corpus habes et animam et reliquas partes tuas ut caput, manus, pedes, etcetera.

4. Alio modo habentur res omnino extrinsece; sic tu pecunias habes, liberos, uxorem, etcetera; item dominos vel servos.

5. Tercio modo habentur res medie inter intrinsecas et extrinsecas, velut accidentia anime, inherencia vel corpori ut scientia, pietas, iusticia, prudentia, albedo, nigredo, sanitas, egritudo, pulchritudo et horum opposita.

6. Quibus omnibus addi potest hoc pronomen “suum”, ut: *Pater Gerardi, pater suus; vita Socratis, vita sua; equus Petri, equus suus*, etc.

7 1. Quinta est constructio rei habentis cum genitivo rerum habitatum ad laudem vel vituperium pertinentium, et quandoque cum ablativo, ut: *Vir duri capitis* vel *duro capite*; et *vir magne virtutis* vel *magna virtute*; *vir optimi ingenii* vel *optimo ingenio*.

2. Scias quod genitivo rei habite communiter addi debet adiectivum; non enim dicitur “vir capitis” sed “duri capitis”, aut “mulier faciei”, sed “pulcre faciei”. Et tale adiectivum communiter ad laudem pertinet vel vituperium; quandoque tamen non, ut: *Vir nigri coloris* vel *albi*.

3. Quandoque autem substantivum est tale, quod per se sine adiectivo satis habet laudis vel vituperii et ideo potest solum poni sine adiectivo, ut: *Vir pacis; petra scandali; turris fortitudinis; homo pacis; homo peccati; filius perditionis*.

6 1 iunctura: regula, AB.

3 reliquas: ceteras, D.

4 libros, A.

6 etc.: et sic de aliis, D.

7 3 autem om. C.

8 1. Sexta iunctura est nominis substantivi verbalis cum genitivo illius nominis, quod in aliquo obliquo regitur transitive a suo verbo, sive hoc sit in genitivo, ut : *Misereor tui / misertor tui*; sive in dativo, ut : *Faveo tibi / fautor tui*; sive in accusativo, ut : *Amo vinum / amator vini*; sive in ablativo, ut : *Potior hac re / potitor huius rei*. 2. Scias quod dixi transitive propter verba regentia plures obliquos, unum transitive, alium vero non ita, ut : *Do tibi panem*; non enim dicitur “dator tui”, sed “dator panis”, quia dativus non regebatur transitive, sed accusativus, ut infra dicam. 3. Adduntur autem nominibus verbalibus nomina vim verbalium habentia, ut : *Timor periculi*; *carentia auri*, *plenitudo divitiarum*, *indigentia pecuniarum*. 4. Excipitur hoc nomen “opus”, quod idem est quod indigentia, tamen sepius iungitur ablativo, ut : *Opus michi est argento*; *habeo opus pecunia*. Nec est credendum quod talis ablativus regatur a verbo impersonali “opus est”. Ymmo regitur a dictione “opus”, ut patet in ista oratione : *Dicite quia dominus his opus habet*. 5. Posset autem, licet non inveniatur, communiter iungi genitivo, ut : *Opus multarum rerum*. Et est opus, sic acceptum pro penuria, tantum in voce nominativi et accusativi singularis numeri, carens plurali numero, quod patet per istam orationem Therencii : *Ibo intro ut, cum opus sit, parentur quae res sunt necessarie*. 6. De modo autem formandi verbalia huius iuncture et alia vim eorum habentia dicam in fine huius operis.

9 Septima est substantivi cum proprio genitivo plurali, ut : *Flos florum*; *virgo virginum*. Et significat talis reflectio genitivi super suum nominativum quandam excellentiam dignitatis.

10 Octava iunctura est nominum propriorum cum genitivo multitudinis colectivo, ut : *Multi, quorum Socrates*, etcetera; de qua dixi nuper in prima regula presentis capituli.

8 1 potitor : potior, C.

4 opus est : est, C.

5 Posset : potest, C.

9 super : supra, C. — dignitatis : dign. et aliquando servitutis, C.

10 iunctura : regula, AB; om. D.

8 4 Matthaeus XXI 3.

8 5 Ter., *Adelphi* 740 : Eo intro ut quae opus sunt parentur.

III

Capitulum tercium
De iuncturis adiectivorum

- 1 1. Omnium adiectivorum sedecim pono iuncturas.
2. Prima est adiectivorum relativorum cum genitivo vel dativo suorum correlativorum, ut *similis, dissimilis, equalis, inequalis, vicinus, propinquus, amicus, inimicus, contrarius huius* vel *huic*. Sic et *par tui* vel *tibi* dicitur; *affinis, cognatus*, et sic de multis aliis. 3. Sed ista duo adiectiva “alter” et “diversus” ut relativa sunt. Quandoque iunguntur dativo, ut : *Diversus illi*, sed frequencius iunguntur ablativo cum prepositione, ut : *Alter ab illo, diversus ab illo*. Nam videntur vim habere numeralium nominum vel ordinalium, de quibus infra dicam in nona iunctura.
- 2 Secunda est adiectivorum pertinentium ad alicuius dampnum vel utilitatem cum dativo, ut *utilis, gratus, carus, fidus, fidelis, sumptuosus, lucrativus, questuosus, dampnosus, nocivus, gravis, difficilis, periculosus, calamitosus, odiosus, proficiuus*, et huiusmodi multa.
- 3 1. Tercia est adiectivorum verbalium active significationis et participiorum presentis temporis in vim nominis transeuntium cum genitivo nominis illius, quod in aliquo obliquo regitur a suo verbo transitive.
2. Quam iuncturam etiam servant participia preteriti temporis cum participiis presentibus in vi nominum accepta, ut : *Purgativum cerebri; abstinens irarum; cupidus lucri; timidus pene; iuris consultus; consuetus malorum; fidens animi; amans ludi; peritus rethorice; doctus grammaticae; potens mentis* vel *menti*. 3. Priscianus autem quedam ponit, que indifferenter genitivo iunguntur vel accusativo, ut : *Exosus* vel *perosus bellorum* vel *bella*; *prescius* vel *ignarus futurorum* vel *futura*. 4. Scias quod hanc iuncturam etiam servant adiectiva vim talium habentia verbalium, ut : *Compos sui; custos rerum; prodigus auri; preceps animi; magister artium; anceps huius rei; reus mortis; reus neglecti mandati*;
5. Invenitur quoque “reus” iungi ablativo, ut : *Reus crimine maiestatis*. Sed hoc est per quintam regulam sive iuncturam sequentem. Eodem modo dicitur *dignus laude* vel *laudis*, aut comprehenditur dignus in iunctura sexta sequenti.

III 1 3 videtur, C.

2 utilis : vobis, C.

3 5 regulam : regula, B. — sequentem om. C.

III 3 3 Priscianus, *Instit. Gramm.* XVIII 19-20.

4 1. Quarta est adiectivorum verbalium passive significationis ut in -bilis aut in -dus terminatorum cum dativo rei agentis, ut : *Amabilis mihi*; *laudandus tibi*. 2. Scias quod talia in -dus terminata dupliciter possunt exponi. Primo modo simpliciter per verbum passivum cum nota futuritionis, et sic sunt futuri temporis participia (De quorum iuncturis infra tractabo), ut : *Amandus michi*, id est : *qui a me amabitur*. 3. Secundo modo exponuntur per hoc nomen adiectivum “dignus”, ut : *Amandus*, id est : *dignus amari*; *laudandus*, id est : *dignus laudari*; et sic sunt adiectiva verbalia significationis passive, de quibus datur hec presens iunctura. 4. Dativus autem huius iuncture mutatur in ablativum cum prepositione more regiminis passivorum verborum, de quibus dicam posterius.

5 1. Quinta est adiectivorum cum ablativis suarum causarum, tam principalium quam instrumentalium, ut : *Albus facie*; *albus albedine*. 2. Scias quod istud intelligitur de quatuor generibus causarum prius positis in tertia iunctura nominis substantivi, videlicet a quo, propter quid. 3. Exemplum de causa efficiente, ut : *Similis albedine*; *fessus cursu*; *lassus labore*; *eger siti*; *sanus opera medici*. 4. Exemplum de formali, ut : *Albus albedine*; *eger egritudine*; *multi numero*; *quinque numero*. 5. Exemplum de causa materiali, ut : *Albus facie*; *velox pedibus*; *facetis sermone*; *mitis conversatione*. 6. Exemplum de causa finali, ut : *Studiosus causa scientie*; *laboriosus gratia pecunie*. Non tamen posset dici *laboriosus pecunia*. Et hoc est singulare in causa ista finali, quod regatur in ablativo intentionis cause vel finis, ut dicendo quo fine, vel cuius gratia. 7. Attamen sic non posset regi specialis aliqua causa finalis ut prius dictum est. Non enim posset dici *curiosus pecunia*, sed bene *causa* vel *gratia* vel *fine pecunie acquirende*. De quo planius dicam infra in sexta iunctura verbi substantivi. 8. Quando autem ablativi sunt causales vel non, scire potes eos resolvendo in istas prepositiones : *a*, *per*, *de*, *propter*.

6 1. Sexta est adiectivorum obtinentiam aut carentiam importantium cum genitivo aut ablativo rei, que obtinetur vel caretur, ut *plenus*, *vacuus*, *nudus*, *dives*, *pauper*, *egenus*, *inops*, *fecundus*, *copiosus*. Dicitur enim *nudus vestium* vel *vestibus*, *dives agrorum* vel *agris*; sic et *dignus laude* vel *laudis*. 2. Sed ista tria adiectiva “purus, captus, cassus”, carentiam importantia non inveniuntur iungi nisi ablativis. Dicitur

4 3 dignus adiectivum, C.

5 1 adiectivi, C.

6 1 genitivo aut : gen. et, B. — vel caretur : vel qua caretur, C.

enim *purus crimine, captus mente, cassus viribus, captus luminibus*.
 3. Substantiva autem omnium istorum adiectivorum hic positorum iunguntur tantum genitivis iuxta sextam iuncturam nominis substantivi prius positam.

7 1. Septima est adiectivorum confusam quantitatem sive mensuram importantium cum ablativis determinate quantitatis, ut : *Longum sex pedibus; latum duobus pedibus; grave sex libris; altum sex pedibus, profundum tribus*. 2. Scias quod hec iunctura potest in quinta comprehendendi. Isti enim ablativi determinate quantitatis sunt quasi formales in ordine ad confusam quantitatem. 3. Substantiva autem istorum adiectivorum non iunguntur nisi genitivis, ut : *Longitudo duorum pedum, latitudo trium pedum*, per secundam iuncturam substantivi nominis locatam superius.

8 1. Octava est adiectivi alicuius totius cum accusativo partis, per quam tale adiectivum inest toti ut, si Socrates dicatur albus per faciem vel eger per caput, dicitur secundum hanc iuncturam *albus faciem, eger caput*, removendo preposicionem. Sic dicitur *lesus manum, crispus crines*. 2. Et in tali modo loquendi dicitur esse quedam figura que dicitur “synodoche”. 3. Scias quod ista iunctura potest converti in quintam adiectivorum — ita quod dicatur *eger capite*, id est : *in capite* — vel in quintam substantivi, ponendo talem partem cum suo adiectivo in genitivo, ut : *Vir durus capite* vel *duri capitis*, etc.

9 1. Nona est adiectivi partitivi cum genitivo colligente multitudinem sive in singulari, sive in plurali numero, ut : *Aliquis eorum; alter eorum*. 2. Habent autem hanc iuncturam primo partitiva ut *aliquis, alter*; secundo distributiva ut *omnis, quisque, nullus, uterque*; tercio ordinativa ut *primus, secundus, tercius*, et sic de aliis; quarto numeralia ut *unus, duo*, etcetera; quinto interrogativa ut *quis, qualis, quotus eorum*; sexto superlativa et comparativa partitive accepta ut *pulcerrimus florum, maior illorum*. 3. Ordinativa tamen pro ut numero in ordinacione significant. Iunguntur cum ablativo mediante prepositione “ab”, ut : *Secundus ab illo; alter ab illo*. 4. Scias quod talis genitivus resolvitur quandoque per “in”, quandoque per “ex”, quandoque per “de”,

3 genitivis, D.

7 3 substantivi ... superius : nominis substantivi prius positam, C.

8 3 dicitur, C. — etc. om. D.

9 2 uterque : uter, AD. — unus, duo, tres, D. — illorum : horum, C.

3 numero : numerum, BC.

quandoque per “inter”, ut : *Unus discipulorum*, id est : *unus ex* vel *de discipulis*; *benedicta in mulieribus*, id est : *inter mulieres*.

10 Decima est superlativorum cum duobus casibus, videlicet genitivo colectivo multitudinis per iuncturam precedentem, et alio obliquo quem suus positivus regebat ut, quod dicebatur *dives agrorum* vel *agris* per sextam iuncturam adiectivorum, iam dicitur *ditissimus regum agrorum* vel *agris* : “Regum” quidem per iuncturam precedentem, “agrorum” autem vel “agris” per sextam iuncturam adiectivorum.

11 Undecima est comparativorum cum genitivo multitudinis colectivo iuxta nonam iuncturam nuper positam, ut : *Maior eorum*, id est : *inter eos*.

12 1. Duodecima est comparativi cum ablativo rei, ad quam fit comparatio, ut : *Maior Johanne*; *citius dicto*; *clarior solito*. 2. Scias autem quod res, ad quam fit comparatio, quandoque loco ablativi ponitur cum ista coniunctione “quam” in alio casu, ut : *Sum albior te*, vel *quam tu*. 3. Talis autem casus positus post li “quam” diversimode regitur. Quandoque enim regitur ab aliquo subaudito, ut : *Socrates est albior quam tu*, id est : *quam tu sis*. Quandoque regitur ab ipso comparativo, ut : *Johannes est similior mihi quam tibi*, *propinquior mihi quam tibi*. 3. Et pro tali diversitate regiminis si vis scire quis casus debet apponi in comparatione cum li “quam”, vide que subdicio vel addicio sit convenientior sensui comparationis, et secundum illam pone talem casum, ut ecce congrue non dicitur : *Vidi te fortiozem quam Platonem*, quod improprius esset sensus subaudiendo “quam videre Platonem”. Sed debuit dici : *Vidi te fortiozem quam Plato*; supple : *sit* vel *erat*. 4. Sed diligenter adverte quod talis resolutio ablativi per “quam”, quandoque est facilis, ut in istis : *Socrates est melior Platone*; *Symon studet melius Henrico*; *Maria est albior Katherina*, quia clarum est quod hic fit comparatio inter bene studentes, bonos vel albos. 5. Quandoque vero est difficilis, ut in verbis accusativos post se regentibus, eo quod in illis difficile est quandoque videre in qua re fit comparatio, ut hic : *Doceo melius Socratem Platone*. Dubium est an fiat comparatio inter docentes, ut sit sensus “doceo Socratem melius quam Plato doceat eum”, vel inter doctos, ut sit sensus “doceo

4 vel de *om.* C; benedicta tu, C.

10 quod *omm.* BC.

12 3 Quandoque enim ... quam tu sis *omm.* BC. — propinquior ... tibi *om.* C

5 difficile quandoque est, C. — doctos ut sit : doctos vel sit, B.

Socratem melius quam doceam Platonem". 6. Et similiter hic: *Video plura Johanne*, vel inter videntes, id est "quam Johannes", vel inter visa, id est "quam Johannem". Item hic: *Malo hoc illo*, vel inter volentia, vel inter volita fiat comparatio. 7. In quibus omnibus debes considerare ad capiendum sensum positivi, et secundum rem illius perficere comparationem inter participantia talem rem, ut cum dicitur: "Docet melius", res positivi est "docet bene". Sic cum dicitur "Doceo Socratem melius Platone", fit comparatio inter docentes, et sic debet resolvi "quam Plato", non "quam Platonem". 8. Cum autem dico: "Video plura Platone", res positivi "videt multa" intelligitur in rebus visis. Ideo attendi debet comparatio in illis, non autem inter videntes, et sic "video plura illis" sensus est: "quam illa sint, que videntur", non "que vident". 9. Item cum dico: "Malo hoc illo", res positivi est "velle", et sic fit comparatio inter volentes ut sit sensus: "malo hoc illo", id est: "quam ille", non "quam illud", nisi inter volita comparatio fiat. 10. Ex quo vides quod quamvis loco ablativi rei comparate possit poni li "quam" cum alio casu, tamen non econverso. Quandoque enim poni potest "quam", ubi poni non potest ablativus, ut in exemplis pretactis; dicitur enim: *Doceo Socratem melius Platone*, ut dictum est. Et similiter in istis: *Tu es magis iustus quam Socrates Platone*; *Plures stant quam sedeant*; et sic de multis aliis, in quibus loco li "quam" poni non posset ablativus.

13 1. Terciadecima est comparativi cum ablativo mensurante suum excessum, quam ipse comparativus ad modum cuiusdam mensure confuse importat, ut: *Maior Johanne duobus digitis*; *ditior centum denariis*. 2. Et ad hanc iuncturam reducuntur iste: *Quando maior es, tanto te humilia*; *Quanto plus bibo, tanto plus sitio*; *Quo ditior es, eo tristior*. 3. Tales enim ablativi relativi, videlicet "tanto" et "quanto", important mensuram confusam talis excessus.

14 1. Quartadecima iunctura est comparativi cum ablativo partis, secundum quam fit comparatio, ut: *Maior Johanne capite*, id est; *in capite*; *albior Petro facie*, id est: *in facie*. 2. Et potest ista iunctura reduci ad quintam iuncturam adiectivorum prius positam. Talis enim

8 non "que vident": que non vident, BC.

10 compare: ad quam comparatio, C. — pretactis: predictis, C. — *in fine add.* D: ut dictum est.

13 1 Terciadecima iunctura, D. — quam: quem, C. — *ditior Petro c.d.*, D.

14 1 id est in capite *om.* C.

2 reduci: deduci, C.

ablativus habet rationem materie in qua. 3. Scias ex predictis quod ad comparationem possunt quinque concurrere. Primo res comparata; secundo res, in qua fit comparatio ut Socrate, in bonitate, albedine vel malicia, et talis semper importatur per comparativum; tertio res cui comparatur; quarto pars, secundum quam fit comparatio; quinto mensura excessus importati per comparativum, ut in ista: *Gerardus est multo albior facie Laurentio*. “Gerardus” est res comparata, “albior” est res in qua fit comparatio, “Laurentio” importat rem, cui fit comparatio, “facie” partem, secundum quam fit comparatio, “Multo” est mensura excessus. 4. Res quippe comparata precedit comparativum, et res in qua fit comparatio includitur in comparativo. Ideo secundum illa duo non sumitur aliquod regimen comparativi. Sumitur autem secundum alia tria, sed illa comparativus regit in ablativo, ut hic vides et in iuncturis predictis.

15 1. Quintadecima est comparativi cum obliquo, quem regebat suus positivus, ut: *Ditior agrorum vel agris; plenior vini vel vino*; sicut vidisti in decima iunctura. 2. Sic ergo bene dicitur: *Multo es ditior Petro agrorum*; et quia dicitur: *Prestans Johanne*, ideo congrue dicitur: *Tu es multo prestantior Johanne, Petro*, vel *albior Johanne; plus Petro*. 3. Et ymo concederetur: *Tu es multo magis albior Johanne, Petro*, quamvis tales constructiones non sunt in usu.

16 1. Sextadecima est adiectivorum importantium facultatem, potentiam vel ydoneitatem aliquid agendi, aut contraria, videlicet difficultatem, impotentiam et ineptitudinem, cum infinitivo vel secundo supino verbi talem actum importantis, ut: *sanus potare; cupidus manducare; tardus surgere; piger currere; celer sequi; difficile dictu; mirabile auditu*, id est: *ad currendum, ad sequendum, ad audiendum*. 2. Ibi nota quod tale secundum supinum communiter ponitur loco infinitivi passivi, et sepius quam pro infinitivo activo, ut vides in exemplis et in communi usu.

15 2 Tu es prestantior, C.

16 1 potentiam, ydoneitatem, BC. — dictu om. C.

2 Ubi, C.

IV

〈SEQUITUR LIBER SECUNDUS〉

Capitulum quartum
De iuncturis pronominum

1 1. Quemadmodum substantivorum nominum et adiectivorum iuncture cognoscentur, satis explicatum arbitror libro superiore. 2. Iam vero de iuncturis quinque partium orationis tractandum arbitror oportere : pronominis, adverbii, coniunctionis, prepositionis, interiectionis. Et quoniam istarum omnium pars prima est pronominum, idcirco primum iuncture eius expedientur quam brevissime. 3. Sunt autem due. Prima est istorum sex pronominum : ego, tu, ille, iste, hic et is, cum colectivo multitudinis, ut : *Hec volucrum*; *iste virorum*; *erant multi, quorum ego eram albus et tu niger*. 4. Similiter dicitur de “idem”, ut : *Habeo idem iuris quod tu*. “Idem” enim ab hoc pronomine “is” componitur, etc.

2 1. Secunda iunctura est pronominum possessivorum ut meus, tuus, suus, noster et vester, cum ablativis casibus quasi possessionem importantibus ad modum quinte iuncture adiectivorum nominum, ut : *Liber est meus* vel *tuus bono iure*. 2. Et quia talia possessiva quedam relativa sunt, ideo retinent quandoque primam iuncturam adiectivorum prius positam, sed improprie, ut : *Tu es meus mihi*; *tu es illi suus*; *noster nobis*; *sui illis*.

V

Capitulum quintum
De regulis adverbiorum

1 1. Novem sunt iuncture adverbiorum, quibus premitto regulas quinque preambulas.

2. Prima est : Quatuor sunt adverbia quesitiva loci, videlicet : quo, qua, ubi et unde; que sic differunt, quia “quo” querit locum, ad quem

IV *titulus in C* : Sequitur secundus liber de regimine pronominis, adverbiorum, coniunctionum, prepositionum, interiectionum; *in D* : Incipit liber secundus. Ca. primum.

1 2 pronominum : pronomen, BC — ego, tu, ille : tu, ille, idem, C.

4 etc. *om.* D.

V *titulus in C* : De adverbiiis. — Ca. secundum, D.

acceditur; “qua” locum, per quem transitur; “unde” locum, a quo receditur; “ubi” locum, in quo quis est. 3. Scias quod ista tria “quo, qua, unde” semper querunt cum verbis motionis, quia nichil respicit ista tria loca, scilicet a quo, per quem et ad quem, nisi motus. 4. Sed quartum, videlicet “ubi”, est commune tam ad verba quietis quam motionis; sicut enim quies habet locum in quo, ita etiam habet motus. Ex quo patet quod si quis interrogetur, ubi Gerardus studeat vel currat, et in camera quidem studeat, in campo vero currat, numquam queri potest per quo, qua vel unde, sed per ubi. 5. Similiter de verbis quietis; sic enim nonnunquam ubi Johannes dormiat percontatur sive querit aliquis, non autem per alia quesitiva.

2 1. Secunda regula : Ad questionem per “quo” respondetur accusativus in aliquo istorum quinque modorum. Primo per propria nomina locorum vel villarum simplicis figure in accusativo sine prepositione, ut : *Quo vadis? Goudam; Traiectum*. 2. Secundo modo per ista quatuor appellativa : rus, domus, militia, humus, in accusativo sine prepositione, ut : *Quo vadis? Rus; domum; militiam; humum*. 3. Tercio modo, composita nomina villarum aut quecumque appellativa aut nomina generalium locorum, sicut sunt Hollandia, Zelandia, Brabantia, in accusativo cum prepositione, ut : *Ad Buscumducis; ad campum, in Franciam, in Hollandiam*. 4. Quarto modo per adverbia, videlicet huc, illuc, istuc, intro, foras. 5. Et illo modo per prima supina verborum, ut : *Quo vadis? Pransum; lectum; cursum*.

3 1. Tercia regula : Ad questionem factam per “qua” respondetur altero istorum quatuor modorum. Primo modo per nomina propria locorum simplicia; 2. secundo per dicta quatuor appellativa, rus, domus, humus, militia, in ablativo sine prepositione, ut : *Qua venisti? Traiecto; rure; domo; militia; humo*. 3. Tercio modo per composita vel appellativa nomina locorum in accusativo cum prepositione “per”, ut : *Qua venisti? Per Buscumducis; per campos; per Brabantiam*. 4. Quarto modo per ista adverbia : hac, illac, istac.

4 1. Quarta regula est : Ad questionem factam per “unde” respondetur aliquo istorum quinque modorum. Primo scilicet per nomina propria locorum simplicia; et secundo per dicta quatuor appellativa, rus, domus etc. in ablativo sine prepositione, ut : *Unde venis? Traiecto;*

2 1 Goudam Traiectum : Lovanium Antverpium, D (*quae fortasse Haneronis genuina sunt verba!*).

3 2 militia : malicia, C; domus, militia et humus, D.

4 1 factam *omm*. AD; scilicet *omm*. BC. — simplicia, secundo, C.

Gouda; rure; domo, et sic de aliis. 2. Tercio modo per composita et appellativa locorum, etiam nomina generalium locorum in ablativo cum prepositione, ut : *Unde venis? De Buscoducis; de Montepessulano; de campo; de Hollandia; de villa; de opido*. 3. Quarto modo per ista adverbia : hinc, illinc, istinc, inde, intus, foris. 4. Quinto per ultima supina verborum, ut : *Unde venis? Pransu, lectu, cursu*.

5 1. Quinta regula : Ad questionem per “ubi” factam respondetur aliquo istorum quatuor modorum. Primis quippe duobus modis per nomina propria locorum simplicia, et dicta quatuor appellativa in ablativis illorum nominum, que sunt tercie declinationis vel pluralis numeri, et per genitivos aliorum sine prepositionibus, ut : *Ubi est Rex? Vernone; Athenis; rure; Goude; Traiecti; domi; militie*; etc. 2. Tertio modo per compositiva vel appellativa in ablativo cum prepositione “in”, ut : *Ubi studes? In Buscoducis; in campo; in Flandria*; quod exemplum est de generali nomine loci. 3. Quarto modo per ista adverbia : hic, illic, istic, et huiusmodi. 4. Scias autem quod ista quatuor appellativa rus, domus, humus, militia, quoad istas responsiones equiparantur propriis nominibus locorum, et ideo quodammodo appropriantur. Item cum dicitur “vado domum”, hoc intelligitur de propria domo; “vado rus”, de rure proprio. Ideo vadens ad domum vicini, incongrue diceret “vado domum”. 5. Aliquando autem quedam sinonima istorum videntur ab antiquis poetis eodem modo posita, ut Oratius : *Belli placuisse domique*. Ibi ponitur iste genitivus “belli” pro isto genitivo “militie”. 6. Et proportionabiliter dici posset de sinonimis aliorum trium, sed in communi usu non inveniuntur sic poni, nisi predicta quatuor appellativa. 7. Sed adde quod ista nomina temporalia “vespera” vel “vesperum” inveniuntur poni in genitivo ad modum propriorum localium, ut Therencius : *Vidi te heri vesperi*; de quo dicit Alexander :

Vespere pascalis hoc poni more videbis.

8. Adverte autem quod adiectiva talium propriorum nominum servant

2 Montepessulano, D.

5 1 regula : iunctura, D. — Primus, D.

2 vel appellativa om. C.

4 autem omm. BC. — militia, humus, D.

6 nisi om. C.

7 te omm. BC. — videbis : videtur, C.

V 5 7 Ter., *Andria* 768 : Heri vidi ad vos adferri vesperi; Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* 1207.

regulam suorum substantivorum, scilicet quod poni possunt in accusativo vel in ablativo sine preposicione, sicut sua substantiva, ut : *Vado doctissimas Athenas; pulcherrimum Traiectum*; per quod vides quod talia nomina propriorum locorum non sunt adverbia sicut multi putant.

VI

Capitulum sextum De iuncturis adverbiorum

1 Prima iunctura est quorundam adverbiorum mensuram generalem importantium cum genitivo rei mensurate, ut : *multum, parum, modicum, satis, plus, plurimum vini vel aque*. De quo aliquid dixi in secunda iunctura substantivi in fine.

2 Secunda est quorundam adverbiorum loci vel temporis cum genitivo generalis loci vel temporis ad modum regiminis partitivi, de quo dixi in nona iunctura adiectivi, ut : *Hic loci; nunc temporis; nusquam gentium; nusquam terrarum; ubique locorum*.

3 1. Tercia est istius adverbii “ecce” cum nominativo et sepius cum accusativo, ut : *Ecce homo; ecce hominem; ecce magister; ecce magistrum*; et si que sunt similia, ut “en” pro “ecce”. 2. Et proprie res presens ponitur in nominativo, res absens in accusativo.

4 1. Quarta est adverbiorum vocandi cum vocativis casibus, ut : *O pater; o amice*. 2. Scias autem quod “o” capitur quandoque ut est interiectio exclamativa, de qua infra dicam.

5 1. Quinta est quorundam adverbiorum relativorum cum dativo rei, ad quam important relationem more nominum relativorum, a quibus derivantur, ut sicut dicitur *similis illi*, ita *similiter illi, obvius illi — obviam illi; contrarius illi — contrarie illi*, et sic de aliis. 2. Si autem queratur an posset addi ablativus casualis sicut in ipsis nominibus, ut dicatur *legit similiter illi aliqua similitudine*, dic quod adverbium non servat illud regimen casuale.

3. Etsi videatur exceptio de ista “sepenumero”, melius est dicendum

8 vel ablativo, BC.

VI Ca. tercium, D.

3 1 que : qua, C.

5 1 Quinta iunctura est, D. — ut om. C.

2 possit, C.

quod hoc totum aggregatum “sepenumero” sit unum adverbium quam quod “numero” sit ablativus rectus a “sepe”.

6 1. Sexta est huius adverbii “*pridie*” cum accusativo, eo quod equivalere videtur isti prepositioni “ante”, ut : *Pridie Calendas; pridie Ydus; pridie Nonas*, et si qua sunt similia. 2. Nec curo vim facere an ibi mutetur in prepositionem *annon*. Satis enim michi est ostendere pro usu loquendi, quod sic vel sic posset dici; unde et hoc adverbium “longe” propter contrarietatem, quam habet ad prepositionem “prope”, invenitur in primo Eneydum iungi cum accusativo, cum dicitur : *Thiberinaque longe ostia*, et sic de multis aliis.

7 1. Septima est quorundam adverbiorum comparativi vel superlativi gradus a prepositionibus quasi positivis formatorum cum casualibus talium prepositionum, ut sicut dicitur : *Prope domum; propius domum*, vel *proxime domum*. 2. Et sic de supra, superius, superrime; infra, inferius, infime, et aliis similibus, ut si sol et Mercurius sint supra lunam, potest dici : *Sol est superius lunam Mercurio*, id est : *magis supra lunam*. 3. Et hoc est quod dicitur, quod comparativus et superlativus servant regimen sui positivi, ut prius in decima et decimaquinta iuncturis adiectivorum. Sicut ergo dicitur *similiter illi*, ita dicitur *similime illi; similimus illi*. 4. Per hanc iuncturam dicitur *plus vini*; etiam gradus positivi, scilicet multum, dicebatur enim *multum vini; minus vini*, quia *satis vini* etiam dicitur.

8 1. Octava est quorundam adverbiorum comparativorum vel superlativorum retinentium iuncturas comparativi et superlativi, sicut prius posite sunt, in nomine scilicet pro superlativis cum obliquo sui positivi et cum genitivo plura signante, ut : *Tu illi omnium simillime respondisti*. 2. Pro comparativis cum obliquo positivi cum genitivo multitudinis vel cum ablativo rei ad quam fit comparatio. Item cum ablativo measure, ut : *Respondisti illi multo similis omnibus aliis; Tu bibis multo plus vini aqua*. 3. Scias autem quod ex istis comparativis “plus, minus et amplius” oritur sepe difficultas, eo quod dubium est sepe an teneantur nominaliter vel adverbialiter, et etiam aliquando non facile perspicui

6 2 possit, C. — Eniydum, C; Eneydos, D.

7 2 superrime : supreme, C.

4 gradus : gratia, C.

8 1 pro superlativus cum aliquo, C.

2 illo multo similis; Tu, C.

3 autem om. C.

potest in quo attendatur sua comparatio, ut in istis : *Non sunt plus quam viginti quatuor litere*, ubi “plus” capitur pro “plures”. 4. Ubi solet dici quod “plus” quandoque capitur pro nomine indeclinabili, quod poni potest in quocumque genere, numero et casu. Ita de “minus” et “amplius”. 5. Similiter in ista : *Decem homines currunt minus uno*, ubi solet fieri talis expositio : *Homines currentes sunt minus decem uno*, id est : *quam decem in uno*; ita quod “decem” sit ablativi casus rei, ad quam fit comparacio, et “uno” ablativi casus mensure. 6. Sed quandoque talis resolutio non valet, ut : *Ista sunt tria minus uno*. Oporteret enim dici iuxta dictam resolutionem : *Ista sunt tribus minus uno*. Ideo dic aliter, quod sepe “minus” capitur pro isto ablativo “excepto”, et hoc propter propinquitatem significationis. Est ergo sensus “tria sunt minus uno”, id est “uno excepto”. 7. Et proportionabiliter dici potest de “plus” et “amplius”, que sepius inveniuntur in propria significatione et comparatione posita.

9 1. Nona est quorundam adverbiorum positivi gradus equivalentum comparativis cum ablativis ad modum comparativi, ut hoc adverbium “ante” videtur tantum valere sicut “prius”, et “post” sicut “posterius”. 2. Ideo dicitur : *Uno die antequam venires*, et *ante multo tempore*, id est : *prius*; et *multo tempore post*, id est : *posterius*. Ideo dicit Virgilius : *Longo post tempore venit*. Ita illi ablativi “longo tempore” reguntur ab illo adverbio “post”, quod equivalere videtur isti comparativo “posterius”. 3. Et secundum istud sepe dicitur *multo ante*; *paulo ante*; *paulo post*.

VII

Capitulum septimum De iunctura coniunctionum

1. Coniunctionum ponitur hec sola iunctura, scilicet cum tali casu post se, qualem habet ante se, aut saltem proportionali, ut : *Video Socratem et Platonem*; *equis Socratis et Platonis*. 2. Scias quod

5 expositio currentes, C.

6 isto : illo, D.

9 1 : Adverbiorum adverbis, A. — comparativis *omm.* AD.

VII Ca. quartum, D.

1 Coniunctionum : coniuncione, C.

9 2 Verg., *Ecl.* I 29.

dixi “proportionali” propter dictiones, que indifferenter possunt iungi diversis casibus. Tunc enim inter illos diversos casus potest poni coniunctio, ut sicut dicitur *plenus gratie et veritatis*, ita potest dici *plenus gratia et veritatis*, vel *gratie et veritate*.

VIII

Capitulum octavum De iuncturis prepositionum

1 1. Prepositionis ponuntur tres iuncture. Prima est omnium prepositionum in illo versiculo Donati: *Da prepositiones casus accusativi comprehensarum cum accusativo casu*, ut: *Ad patrem*; *apud villam*, et si que similes sunt. 2. Scias quod prepositiones quandoque inveniuntur posite sine suis casibus, et tunc habent rationem adverbiorum, ut cum dicitur: *Clam feci hoc*; *palam locutus sum*; ymo tota clausula prepositionis cum suo casuali est quodammodo determinativa verbi precedentis ad modum cuiusdam adverbii, ut: *Sto ante edes*, id est: *foris*; *vado in villam*. 3. Quodsi forte verbum esset tale, quod per ipsum casuale determinari posset sine prepositione, non debet interponi prepositio. Frustra enim fit per plura, quod eque bene potest fieri per pauciora.

2 Secunda est omnium prepositionum in illo versiculo Donati: *Da prepositiones casus ablativi comprehensarum cum ablativo*, ut: *A domo*; *ab homine*, et si que sunt similes.

3 Tercia est istarum quinque preposicionum “in, sub, super, subtus, et subter”, cum duobus casibus, scilicet accusativo et ablativo, ut: *In campum* vel *in campo*; *sub tectum* vel *sub tecto*. 2. Scias quod communiter dicitur quod dicte quinque prepositiones posite post verba motionis, iunguntur accusativis, ut: *Vado in campum*. 3. Sed posite post verba quietis iunguntur ablativis, ut: *Sum sub arbore*; *sum in campo*. 4. Sed hoc non plene sufficit, ut patet per istas locutiones: *Sum vobis in regem*; *fuisti fidelis in pauca*; *hoc est divisum in multas*

VIII Ca. quintum, D.

1 2 cuiusdam: cui dam, A.

3 quod ipsum per, BC.

3 4 multas: duas, C.

VIII **2** Donatus, *De partibus orationis ars minor*: De praepositione r. 13 (H. Keil, *Grammatici latini*, IV, p. 365).

partes; vive in longum tempus. In quibus omnibus hec prepositio “in” ponitur cum accusativo per verba quietis. 5. Ideo aliter dicas quod prepositiones predictae, prout resolvuntur in istam prepositionem “ad” vel “usque” aut proportionabilem, iunguntur accusativo, id est, prout important conceptum quasi ad locum vel terminum motus realis vel mentalis, ut : *Vado in silvam*, id est : *ad silvam*; *fuisti fidelis in pauca*, id est : *ad* vel *usque pauca*; *ruit in hostem*; *loquitur in absentes*, id est : *contra*. 6. Et dicendo “contra”, intelligitur conceptus huius prepositionis “ad”, si interpretetur in bonam partem, quia in duas sententias trahi potest : *Sum vobis in regem*, id est : *usque ad regem*; *tu es crudelis in me*, *benignus in alios*; *confugio sub tuam protectionem*; *declino subter scamnum*; *ascendo super arborem*; *postesque sub ipsos nituntur*, id est : *ad postes*. 7. Sed quando dicte prepositiones quinque important conceptum quasi essendi in loco, iunguntur ablativis, ut : *Sum in domo*; *sum sub arbore*; *curro sub tecto*; *curro in campo*”. Quamvis etiam dici possit *in campo* vel *in campum*. Item *meditor sub noctem* vel *nocte*, sed differenter iuxta predicta.

IX

Capitulum nonum
De iuncturis interiectionum

- 1 Interiectionum inveniuntur due iuncture. Prima est huius interiectionis exclamative “O” cum accusativo, ut : *O tempora*; *o facinus intolerabile*; *o perditum hominem*, et si que sunt similes, et cetera.
- 2 Secunda est istarum duarum interiectionum “ve” et “heu” cum dativo, ut *Ve tibi*; *heu mihi*. Sed “heu” invenitur quandoque cum accusativo iuxta precedentem iuncturam, ut : *Heu me miserum*!

X

SEQUITUR TERTIUS LIBER DE REGULIS GENERALIBUS
OMNIUM VERBORUM
Capitulum decimum

- 1 1. Quamvis verbum multas earum, quas premisi, partes merito

IX De interiectione, C; Ca. sextum, D.

1 et cetera *omm.* CD.

X *titulus in D* : Incipit tercius liber. Ca. primum.

precessisset, tamen quia de eo multa dicenda videbantur, tres ei sequentes libros concessi, ut in illis sue iuncture quam absolutissime explicarentur, et omnia forent quesitu facilia et inventu. 2. In hoc itaque cum de regulis generalibus omnium verborum tractandum sit et de verborum regimine substantivorum, regule generales ipse prius expediuntur, quae tres sunt numero. 3. Sed id priusquam fiat, suppono ex tractatu prime partis, quae verba sunt personalia, quae impersonalia, quae substantiva, quae vocativa, quae adiectiva, quae et quot sunt genera verborum. His precognitis, regule subiungentur.

2 1. Prima est diversitas modorum verbi. In Teutonico sic potest deprehendi: Verbum, cui convenienter et immediate preponitur hoc verbum “volo”, debet poni in infinitivo modo. 2. Cui convenienter preponitur hec coniunctio “si, quamvis, quamquam” et proportionabiles, debet poni in coniunctivo. 3. Cui preponitur “quod, utinam, uti” aut aliquid tale, poni debet in optativo. 4. Differentia autem indicativi ab imperativo satis est clara.

3 1. Secunda regula est diversitas temporum in modo indicativo. Et per indicativum convenienter in aliis modis sic ex Teutonico deprehenditur, ut in presenti: lego, *ick lese*; legis, *du lest*; legit, *he lest*; legimus, *wy lesen*; legitis, *gy leset*; legunt, *se lesen*. 2. In preterito imperfecto: legebam, *ick las*; legebas, *du lesest*; legebat, *he las*; legebamus, *wy lesen*; legebatis, *gy leset*; legebant, *see lasen*. Preteritum perfectum concipit istud verbum “habeo” cum suo significato, ut: legi, *ick hebbe gelesen*; legisti, *du hest gelesen*, etcetera. 4. Preteritum plusquam perfectum concipit istud verbum “habebam” cum suo significato, ut: legeram, *ick hadde gelesen*; legeras, *du haddest gelesen*, etcetera. 5. Legam in futuro, *ick sal lesen*. 6. In presenti

1 3 quae impersonalia om. C.

2 1 Prima regula, C. — In Teutonico vel in alio ydeomate, D. — deprehendi: comprehendendi, C.

3 1 ex Teutonico vel alio ydeomate deprehenduntur, D. *Post singula verba Teutonica D haec Gallica addit*: ie lis ... tu lis ... cil lit; et pluraliter ... nous lisons ... vous lisez ... ceulx lisent. *C autem habet*: du leeste, hy leest *et pro* “se” si. *D habet* du leest *et sy pro se*.

3 2 *C has varias formas habet Teutonicas*: du laeste ... wij lasen ... gij laset (B: lesen) ... si ... — *D has addit Gallicas* ... ie lisoye ... du laest, tu lisois ... hij laest, cil lisoit; et pluraliter ... wij lasen, nous lisiemmes ... gij laset, vous lisiez ... sy lasent, ceulx lisoyent.

3 3 *C has formas habet Teutonicas*: ic heb gelesen ... du hebste ghelesen. — *D has habet proprias*: ... iay lut ... du hebs ghelesen, tu as lut.

3 4 du hadste, C — *D habet*: ... iauoie lut ... du haddes, tu auois lut.

3 5 *D addit*: ie liray.

imperativi lege, *les du*; legito tu, *du salt moeten lesen*; utinam legerem, *off ick lese*; utinam legissem, *off ick gelesen hadde*; utinam legam, *of ick sal lesen*. 7. Cum legam, *als ick lese*; cum legerem, *do ick las*; cum legerim, *als ick hebbe gelesen*; cum legero, *als ick sal lesen*; 8. legere, *lesen*; legisse; *hebben gelesen*; lectum ire, *sullen lesen*.

4 1. In verbis autem passive vocis applicanda est hec regula : verbo “sum, es, est” in eorum significatione incluso, et ibi tunc valebit ut in aliis. 2. Dicitur enim Teutonice : amatus sum, *ick bin leyfgehat*; amatus es, *du bist leefgehat*; quibus addendo participium passivum conficitur coniugatio verbi passivi, ut patet consideranti. 3. Sunt autem iste due regule utiles plurimum ad convertendum vulgare ydeoma in latinum aut econtra.

5 1. Tercia regula est : Nulla pars est causa regiminis vel latinitatis ante se nisi verbum, quod ante se regit suum suppositum. 2. Et tales anteriores iuncture habentur per sextamdecimam regulam generalem positam in principio huius libri.

XI

Capitulum undecimum

De iuncturis substantivorum verborum et vocativorum

1 1. Quia verba substantiva aliis priora sunt et in eorum significatione concepta, ideo primo ponentur eorum iuncture, precipue huius verbi “sum”, quod est primum omnium verborum. 2. Expedientur autem simul verba vocativa propter eorum magnam propinquitatem ad substantiva. 3. Et generaliter annotabitur singulis iuncturis, quibus verbis communes sunt iuncture substantivorum, ut non oporteat idem pluries reiterari. Pono ergo huius verbi “sum” septem iuncturas.

3 6 off : of, CD — D *has habet formas vernaculas* : lees du, lis tu ... du salt moeten lesen, lis tu ... of ick lesen, alemienne voulente ie liroie ... of ic gelesen hadde, iousse lut ... of ic lase, o que ie lise.

3 7 do : doe, CD — hebbe : heb, C — D *has addit formas Gallicas* : comme ie lise ... comme ie lisisse ... comme iaye lut ... comme iaray lut.

3 8 D *addit has formas Gallicas* : liren ... avar lut ... aler lire.

4 2 yck, B — du bys leyfgehat, B — D *habet* : ic ben liefghehat, gallice : ie fuis amé ... du bist liefghehat, tu es amé.

5 2 sextam decimam sextam (*sic!*), C.

XI *titulus in C* : De verbis substantivis. — Ca. secundum, D.

1 3 annotabuntur, C.

2 1. Prima est huius verbi “sum” cum nominativo a parte post, pertinente ad idem cum supposito, et tunc dicitur tale verbum “sum, es, est” copulative teneri, ut : *Ego sum albus; Socrates est homo; homo est substantia*. 2. Que iunctura est primo communis aliis verbis substantivis, ut : *Fio bonus; existo malus*, et ulterius verbis vocativis, et communiter omnibus verbis personalibus finiti modi copulative acceptis. 3. Scias quod hec iunctura est primo communis verbis vocativis omnibus, ut : *Vocor Petrus; nominor Johannes; appellor Wilhelmus; nuncupor Jacobus; dicor Conradus*. Secundo est communis omnibus aliis verbis tam passive quam active vocis, prout tamen copulative sumuntur, ut : *Diligor bonus; amor pulcher; reputor clericus; vado solus; iaceo supinus*. 4. Et dixi notanter copulative, ita videlicet quod talis casus pertineat ad idem cum supposito, et quod possit fieri resolutio per hoc verbum “sum” cum gerundio verbi, ut : *Ambulo solus*, id est : *sum solus ambulans; iaceo supinus*, id est : *sum supinus iacendo*.

3 1. Secunda iunctura est huius verbi “sum” cum genitivo secunde vel quarte vel quinte iuncturarum nominis substantivi. Ita scilicet quod in dictis iuncturis nominis substantivi possit interponi hoc verbum “sum” et tales iuncturas quasi suas accipere, ut in secunda iunctura, ut : *puer octo annorum / est octo annorum*; in quarta iunctura : *capa magistri / capa est magistri*; in quinta : *vir duri capitis vel duro capite / iste est duri capitis vel duro capite*.

2. Scias quod iunctura ista communis est quibusdam verbis, manifeste hoc verbum “sum” includentibus, ut : *Fio bonorum morum; videor boni ingenii; ille creditur centum annorum; reputor bone vite*. 3. In quibus manifeste includitur iste infinitivus “esse”, ut : *Videor boni ingenii*, id est : *videor esse boni ingenii; reputor bone vite*, id est : *esse bone vite; istud lignum videtur sex pedum*, id est : *esse sex pedum*. 4. Non autem sic interponetur hoc verbum “sum” in aliis iuncturis substantivi nominis, ut quo ad primam non congrue dicitur : *Iste filius est Petri; iste pater est Johannis*, intelligendo quod illi genitivi regantur a verbo “est”; quod si sic inveniretur, extra modos significandi transiret in quartam iuncturam, et de vi sermonis significaretur “esse eius” ut

2 1 Prima iunctura, C.

3 Wilhelmus : Rolandus, D. — Conradus : Conrardus, C. — active : adiective, B. — tam active quam passive, C.

4 ita videlicet : ideo, C; videlicet *om.* D. — ambulans : ambulando, C.

3 1 cappa, CD. — vel vir duro ..., C.

4 sic *omm.* BC; congrue *om.* C.

“possessoris”. 5. Similiter in tertia iunctura non dicitur : *Iste anulus est auri*; *ista ara est triumph*i, quoniam de vi sermonis transformaretur talis genitivus in rationem possessoris secundum quartam iuncturam.

6. Et ita dic de ista : *Iste est liber Aristotilis*; similiter de ista : *Iste amator est vini*; aut in septima : *Iste flos est florum*; aut : *Iste rex est regum*.

4 1. Tercia est huius verbi “sum” cum dativo rei habentis, sic quod talis dativus converti possit in accusativum cum hoc verbo “habeo”, ut : *Est mihi filius*, id est : *habeo filium*; *esto mihi in deum*, id est : *habeam te in deum*. 2. Et sic videtur “est” capi pro “pertinet”, ut : *Hic equus est mihi*, id est : *pertinet*. 3. Quam iuncturam servat “est” impersonaliter sumptum, ut : *Bene est mihi*, id est : *bene habeo*.

4. Scias quod hec iunctura communis est omnibus verbis mutandi, eo quod cuiuslibet verbi actus potest alicuius dampnum vel utilitatem respicere, et sic significare ut “proficio tibi”. 5. Ideo etiam in verbis absolutis, de quibus hoc minime putaretur, dici potest : *Dormio tibi*; *laboro tibi*, id est : *ad opus tuum*; *vivo tibi*, id est : *ad opus tuum* vel *pro te*. 6. Ad hanc autem iuncturam reduco has interiectiones : *ve tibi*; *heu mihi*, subintelligendum verbum “est”; et istas orationes *laus deo*; *pax vivis*; *gloria patri*; *gloria tibi domine*. De primis tamen dici potest quod talis dativus regitur ab illis interiectionibus “ve” et “heu” iuxta secundam iuncturam interiectionis prius positam.

5 1. Quarta est huius verbi “sum” cum duobus dativis, primo rei habentis, secundo modum ipsius acquisitionis aut bonum aut malum ad ipsam sequens importante, ut : *Hoc est mihi honori*; *hoc est mihi lucro*, id est : *cum hoc habeo honorem* vel *lucrum*; *illud est tibi honori*, id est : *ad honorem*; *hoc est tibi usui*, id est : *ad usum*. 2. Quam iuncturam servant verba acquisitionem generalem in sua significatione importantia ut *do*, *concedo*, *trado*, *habeo*, et huius modi. 3. Scias quod ad hanc iuncturam reducuntur iste locutiones : *Do librum tibi pignori*; *habeo cordi*; *teneo menti*; *servo memorie*; *habeo te odio et despectui*; *peto decem mutuo*; *exigo librum precario*; *peto equum pignori*. In quibus omnibus importatur vis verbi substantivi, quia in talibus locutionibus innuitur rem possessori inesse. 4. Possunt autem resolvere

6 Aristotilis : Petri, D.

4 1 in accusativum : accusativo, D.

4 mutandi : mundi, CD.

6 subintelligendo, C.

5 3 pigneri, C. — odio vel, D.

faciliter per “est”, ut : *Do tibi pignori*, id est : *ut sit tibi pignori*; *peto hoc mutuo*, id est : *peto hoc ut sit michi mutuo*. 5. Advertendum tamen quod talis dativus secundus est determinativus modi habendi, inessendi vel acquirendi. Ideo non regitur nisi a verbis acquisitive sumptis, et communiter resolvitur in accusativum cum prepositione “ad”, ut : *Est mihi lucro*, id est : *ad lucrum*; *honori*, id est : *ad honorem*; *do tibi pignori*, id est : *ad pignus*; *tu es michi cure*, id est : *ad curam meam*; *venio tibi auxilio*, id est : *ad auxilium*. 6. Potest etiam pro talibus duobus capi solum secundus cum relatione ad rem habentem, ut : *Est mihi lucro*, id est : *lucro meo*; *michi honori*, id est : *honori meo*; *venio tibi auxilio*, id est : *venio auxilio tuo*.

6 1. Quinta iunctura est huius verbi “sum” cum accusativo vel ablativo temporis rem suam mensurantis, ut : *Fui ibi sex horas*, vel *sex horis*; *Adhuc modicum tempus vobiscum sum*. 2. Et quia omne verbum significat cum tempore, ideo etiam iunctura ista communis est omnibus verbis ut : *Dormivi totam noctem*, vel *tota nocte*; *laboravi biduum*, vel *biduo*.

3. Scias quod tale tempus, quod sic ponitur in accusativo vel ablativo, vocatur “tempus quamdiu”, quia respondetur ad interrogationem factam per “quamdiu”, ut : *Quamdiu studuisti?* respondetur : *tres horas*, vel *tribus horis*. 4. Aliud est tempus, quod vocatur “tempus quando”, id est, quod convenienter respondetur ad questionem factam per “quando”, ut cum queritur : *Quando venisti?* *Prima mensis huius*; vel *veni media nocte*; que non convenienter respondentur ad questionem factam per “quamdiu”, sicut notum est. 5. Et tale “tempus quando” solum poni debet in ablativo, ut : *Fui hic tali die*, *tali hora*, *tali mense*, *tali anno*. 6. Inter hec autem duo tempora est magna differentia, licet obscura. Et a logicis primum tempus in predicamento quantitatis, secundum vero in predicamento quando ponitur. 7. Et per tale tempus communiter exprimuntur date litterarum, ut quando scribitur : *Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo quinto, undecima die mensis Augusti*.

7 1. Sexta est huius verbi “sum”, cum ablativo causarum tam principalium quam instrumentalium, ut : *Sum hic causa profectus mei*; *hic sum bona intentione*; sive *sum hic Dei voluntate*, sive *propria*. 2. Est

6 1 sex horis vel sex horas, D.

2 ista om. D.

6 ponitur om. D.

autem aliqua causa principalis, alia sibi subserviens et minus principalis, ut: *Magister et virga ad verberandum; domifactor et securis ad secandum*. Quot autem sunt genera causarum, vide in tertia iunctura substantivi prius posita. 3. Scias quod, quia cuiuslibet verbi significationes habent aliquas causas, ideo hec iunctura communis est omnibus verbis, observato tamen illo quod dixi in quinta iunctura adiectivi de causa finali. 4. Additur etiam quod communiter ablativo cause efficientis principalis preponitur hec prepositio “a” vel “ab”, non autem ablativo instrumenti. Dicitur enim: *Verbero te baculo; verberor a magistro*. 5. Non tamen observatur hoc semper, ut: *claris ortus parentibus*, id est: *a claris*; et *pulcra nascetur origine Cesar*, id est, *ex pulcra*. Raro etiam vel nunquam invenitur sic poni efficiens principale in ablativo, nisi per verba passive significationis, quia in habentibus significationem activam efficiens principale ponitur in supposito, et per consequens in nominativo, ut: *Gerardus studet*. 7. Scias autem quod ablativi sic sunt causales, si possis eos resolvere in ista syncategoreumata “in, de, ex, per, propter” et huiusmodi, ut patet de efficientibus nuper positis. 8. Similiter in istis formalibus: *Vocaverunt eum nomine patris sui; laboro febre; iure hoc facio; do tibi hoc nomine dotis*. 9. Similiter in istis finalibus: *Studeo causa scientie; pugno causa victoriae*. 10. Similiter in istis materialibus: *Doleo capite; prefecit eum cithara*, id est: *in cithara*; *scripsi tali loco*, reducendo locum ad causam materiale. In qua causa etiam dicit Therentius: *Res peiore loco est*. Sic diceretur: *Scripsi proprio edificio*, et sic de aliis. 11. Et hoc modo etiam ponitur ablativus temporis in quo, ut: *Scripsi tali die*; de quo prius mentionem feci in quinta iunctura.

8 1. Septima est huius verbi “sum” cum casibus locorum secundum modum prius positum in quinta regula adverbiorum, scilicet de questione “ubi”. 2. Quam iuncturam habent omnia verba secundum quod ad questionem “ubi” respondetur, iuxta notata in prima regula adverbiorum, ubi visum est quomodo de omni verbo, tam motus quam quietis, potest questio “ubi” formari.

7 5 id est: claris, D.

6 nisi per: non post, C; nisi post, D.

7 causales: casuales, AD. — in, de: inde, C.

10 prefecit, C.

8 1 est: es, C.

XI 7 10 Ter., *Adelphi* 344: Peiore res loco non potis est esse.

XII

Capitulum duodecesimum

LIBER QUARTUS : de iuncturis verborum adiectivorum

1 1. Iuncturis verborum adiectivorum premitto novem regulas preambulas et pro intellectu sequentium necessarias.

2. Prima est verborum adiectivorum : Quedam sunt simpliciter absoluta, quedam simpliciter transitiva, quedam vero respectiva non transitiva. Que et qualia sint, quomodo possint internosci per sequentia patebit.

2 1. Secunda regula est : verba absoluta sunt, que non egent casu a parte post ad sui determinationem, sed per se cum supposito completum sensum et terminatum important, ut : *Ego vivo; ego sto; ego dormio; ego quiesco.* 2. Scias quod ista verba absoluta faciliter cognoscere poteris per quartam regulam generalem in principio positam. Illa enim verba, de quibus non communiter queritur *wem, of wie, of van wem* et huiusmodi, sunt isto modo absoluta.

3 1. Tercia regula : verba transitiva sunt, que suum actum inferunt a suo supposito et imprimunt alteri, in quo fieri potest sue significationis conversio, ut faciliter per Teutonicum videri potest : primo in omnibus activis; secundo in quibusdam neutris; tercio in omnibus communibus; quarto in deponentalibus, que olim erant communia, ideoque adhuc retinent regimen activum et transitivum, paucis exceptis.

2. Scias pro huius declaratione, primo quod in omnibus activis potest fieri talis conversio significationis, quia omne activum habet passivum sibi proportionatum, excepto hoc verbo "facio", quod non habet "facior", sed loco passivi habet hoc verbum "fio". 3. Fit autem communiter talis conversio sic : *Amo Gerhardum*, id est : *Gerhardus amatur a me*; *verbero Nicolaum*, id est : *Nicolaus verberatur a me*;

4. Secundo fit talis conversio in quibusdam neutris, ut : *Bibo vinum*, id est : *vinum bibitur a me*; *aro campum*, id est : *campus aratur*; *navigo portum*, id est : *portus navigatur*; *curro spacium*, id est : *spacium curritur*. 5. In istis tamen aliter fit conversio quam in activis, quia

XII *titulus in C* : De verbis adiectivis. — Capitulum primum, D.

1 2 *Post* sunt D *om.* simpliciter. — respectiva et trans., C.

2 1 absoluta, D.

3 1 suum actum precedentem, C. — in quo : in quod, C.

4 aratur a me, C.

in activis conversio fit secundum primas, secundas et tercias personas, in istis autem neutris non fit conversio nisi per tercias personas dumtaxat. Non enim dicitur “bibor, biberis”, sed “bibitur”; nec “aror, araris”, sed “aratur”, et sic in aliis. 6. Et hoc est quod communiter solet dici, quod verba activa transeunt in rem rationalem, que communiter per primas aut secundas personas determinatur, ut : *Amo te; tu verberas me.* 7. Ista autem neutra non transeunt nisi in rem irrationalem per tercias personas determinabilem. Non enim dicitur : *Bibo te; tu comedis me; pinso te;* sed *comedo carnes; pinso panem; bibo vinum.* Et ex hoc provenit quod non oportet conversionem in talibus fieri nisi per tercias personas, sicut nuper dicebatur. 8. Tercio fit talis conversio in omnibus verbis communibus. Habent enim omnia communia, tam significationem activam quam passivam. Ideo omnia communia in significatione activa sumpta, transitiva sunt, quia sic recipiunt conversionem in sensum passivi, ut : *Criminor Johannem*, id est : *Johannes criminatur a me; Osculor te*, id est : *tu oscularis a me; interpretor librum*, “ik bedude ein boeck”, *liber interpretatur a me*, “dat boeck wert van my bedudet”. 9. Quarto fit talis conversio in verbis deponentalibus, quia olim pene omnia deponentalia communia erant, et habebant utramque significationem; nunc autem remota est ab eis una significatio, a qua remotione sive depositione adhuc vocantur deponentia. 10. Sed omnia, paucis exceptis, retinuerunt significationem activam et conversionem, quam prius habebant; et sic sunt transitiva, ut : *Sequor te*, “ic volghe dy”, id est : “du werst ghevolget van my”; *loquor latinum*, “ick spreke Latyn”, id est : “Latyn wyert ghesproken van my”; *reor veritatem; precor te; expergisor Gerhardum; experior rem; arbitror iusticiam; suspicor malum.* 11. Pauca autem huiusmodi conversionem non servaverunt, ut *nascor, orior*, et aliqua talia, que per suam Teutonicam significationem faciliter possunt discerni; et talia non sunt transitiva.

4 1. Quarta regula : Casus rei, in quam fit significationis verbi conversio, dicitur casus transitionis, quod notari debet per verba

5 in aliis : de aliis, C.

7 oporet, D.

8 ein : een, CD — bock : boeck, CD.

9 depositione : dispositione, C.

10 werst : wertste, C; wyert : wert, D. — *D has versiones Gallicas post verba Teutonica inseruit* : Je te sieux, id est, tu es ensieuy de moy ... Je parle latin, id est, latin est parle de moy. — C *addit* : Tu sequeris a me.

11 et talia non : quod talia non, C.

transitiva plures obliquos regentia, ut sciatur quis illorum sit casus transicionis, et quis non. 2. Scias quod, cum dicitur: *Do Johanni panem*, Johannes non est illud quod datur, et ideo in eum non fit conversio actus verbi. Ideo Johannes non est casus transitionis, sed “panem” est, in quo fit actus verbi conversio, quia est id, quod datur. Ideo ille accusativus “panem” est accusativus transitionis. 3. Et ita dic in aliis. Ex quo infertur regula sequens.

5 1. Quinta est: Casus transitionis semper est accusativus, qui in conversione actus verbi mutatur in nominativum casum reddentem suppositum, ut: *Amo Johannem*, id est: *Johannes amatur a me*; *verbero Gerhardum*, id est: *Gerhardus verberatur a me*; *pinso panem*, id est: *panis pinsitur*. 2. Scias quod in verbis active vocis, scilicet activis et neutris, talis conversio mutat genus. Semper enim perficitur per verbum passivum. In verbis autem communibus perficitur in eodem genere et in eadem terminatione, quia talia communia habent utramque significationem. 3. In deponentalibus autem non potest latine talis conversio perfici, quia iam efficerentur communia verba. Quia tamen olim omnia fuerunt communia, ut prius dixi, ideo adhuc plurima eorum vim transitionis habent, quam prius habebant secundum quod per Teutonicam eorum significationem facillime cognoscas.

6 1. Sexta regula circa eandem rem verbi: potest esse unum verbum transitivum et aliud intransitivum, ut “ardeo” intransitivum est, “uro” transitivum. Circa actum mortis “occido, interficio, neco” sunt transitiva, “morio, obeo, decedo” intransitiva sunt. 2. Scias quod huiusmodi transitiva et intransitiva circa eandem rem, aliquando in simili quidem voce sunt, aliquando in diversa. In simili quippe sunt, ut “sordido, -das” et “sordeo”; “albo, -as et albeo, albes”, a quo “albesco” inchoativum; “duro et dureo”; “humo, -as et humeo”; “lacto et lacteo”; “placo et placeo”, et multa similia, ut “fugo, -as et fugio”; “vivifico et vivo”; “pendo et pendeo”; “iacio et iaceo”; “subiicio, subiaceo”; “valido et valeo”, inde “valesco”; “cedo, cecidi” et “cedo, cessi”.

3. Sic quoque multa composita a “facio”, ut “calefacio et caleo”, “frigefacio et frigeo”, “stupefacio et stupeo”, “arefacio et areo”, “tepefacio et tepeo”, “madefacio et mado”. 4. Ymmo quandoque in eadem coniugatione et omnino eadem voce, ut: *minor a te*, et *minor tibi*, deponens; et *nubo te illi*, et *nubo tibi*.

4 2 Johannes: Johanni, C.

5 3 fuerunt: erant, C.

6 4 minor te, C.

5. Sunt autem quandoque transitiva et intransitiva circa idem in voce dissimili, ut “doceo et disco”; “occulto et lateo”; “manifesto, appereo”; “interficio et morior”; et plurima similia.

7 1. Septima regula est: Transitivum et intransitivum et passivum circa idem sic se habent, quod transitivum denotat rem verbi inferre alteri, passivum inferri ab altero. 2. Intransitivum autem denotat illam rem absolute inesse alteri, ut “calefacere” est calorem alteri inducere, “calefieri” est ab alio recipere calorem, “calere” est absolute esse calidum vel habere calorem.

8 1. Octava regula: Verba respectiva non transitiva sunt que egent post casu determinante ad hoc, quod cum supposito completum et perfectum sensum importent, ut genitivo, dativo vel ablativo, non tamen determinantur per id, in quo possit fieri sue significationis conversio, et ideo non habent casum transitionis, ut: *Misereor Johannis; obvio tibi; abundo panis vel pane*. 2. Et talia faciliter internoscuntur considerando ad questiones, que de ipsis possunt formari iuxta quartam regulam generalem in principio positam. De transitivo enim potest semper a parte post queri in Teutonico *wie of wat*.

9 1. Nona regula: Non numquam verba gratia compositionis mutantur de absoluto et intransitivo in transitivum, et econtra. Ideo gratia talis compositionis sequuntur quandoque diversa regimina, ut “rideo” transitivum est; “arrideo tibi” est respectivum non transitivum; dicimus enim: *derideo te*, sic etiam: *loquor homini; alloquor hominem*; sic “ludo” absolutum est, “deludo te” transitivum, et sic de aliis multis huiusmodi, que gratia compositionis mutant et genus verbi et regimen. 2. Et possunt talia satis notari considerando ad suam significationem, cognita per regulas differentia et distinctione verborum activorum ab aliis. 3. Iam premittam naturas verborum absolutorum, postea simul expediam iuncturas omnium respectivorum. Primo quidem absolutorum pono iuncturas septem.

10 1. Prima est verborum absolutorum cum accusativo partis sui suppositi per synodochen, ut: *Doleo caput, albeo dentes*. 2. Que iunctura communis est verbis passivis, ut: *Frangitur crus; iste leditur*

8 1 egent se, B. — in quo: in quod, C.

2 wie: wye, D; of: off, B.

9 1 mutant genus, C.

2 possent, BC. — ad om. C.

3 septem etc., BC.

10 1 Prima iunctura, C.

2 passivis: frangitur, D.

manum; raditur barbam; abscinditur pedem. Invenitur etiam hec iunctura in adiectivis, ut prius in octava iunctura adiectivorum. 3. Scias quod passiva isto modo regunt accusativum casum improprie et figurative, scilicet per synodochen, ut predictum est. Ideo si converterentur in sua activa, non retineretur talis accusativus partis. 4. Quod enim dico : *Truncor a te manum*, converti non potest sic : *Tu truncas me manum*. Et causa est : in synodoche oportet accusativum partis suppositi verbi ipsum accusativum regentis manere. In activo autem et passivo mutatur accusativus in suppositum. Ideo fieri non potest talis conversio, manente ipso accusativo.

11 1. Secunda est verborum motionis cum accusativo loci sive vie, per quam fit motio, ut : *Iste currit spacium; ambulat viam*. 2. Potest tamen dici quod talia neutra teneantur ibi transitive, et quod possit ibi fieri conversio actus verbi in terciis personis, ut : *Via ambulatur; spacium curritur*, iuxta terciam regulam verborum adiectivorum prius positam.

12 1. Tercia est verborum absolutorum per intellectum unius verbi transitivi in ipsis concepti cum accusativo tali transitivo debito, ut in Virgilio : *Ardebat Alexim*, id est : *amabat*. Item : *exultabo iusticiam*, id est : *exultando decantabo; te maiora manent*, id est : *expectant; me pudet*, id est : *non decet; pluit illis manna; non erubuit ora vestra*. Similiter in Therencio : *Scio te mea gavisurum gaudia*, id est : *celebraturum*. 2. Et hunc etiam modum servant quedam passiva, ut : *Pascunt silvas*, id est : *pascendo rodunt*; Virgilius : *Miseros depascitur artus*. Item : *qui confessus me fuerit coram hominibus, et ego confitebor eum*, etcetera; et sic in multis passivis. 3. Posset tamen dici quod tunc passiva mutantur in deponentia vel communia. 4. Inveniuntur etiam quandoque huiusmodi absoluta aut passiva improprie regere accusativum adverbialiter positum, ut : *Volat sublime*, id est : *sublimiter*; Virgilius : *Et longum, formose, vale*, id est : *longe*. 5. Et in multis sic invenies, sed de hoc

3 isto modo : per istum modum, C. — figurative : finitive, AD.

11 1 Secunda iunctura, D.

12 1 per *omm*. AD.

2 pascuntur, D.

4 aut : vel, D.

XII **12** 1 Verg., *Ecl.* II 1; Ter., *Andria* 964: Hunc scio mea solide solum gavisurum gaudia.

12 2 Verg., *Aen.* II 215; Lucas XII 8: Quicumque confessus fuerit me coram hominibus, et Filius hominis confitebitur illum.

12 4 Verg., *Ecl.* III 79.

non feci iuncturam specialem, quia ibi proprie non est accusativus, sed adverbium.

13 1. Quarta est verborum absolutorum cum accusativo sui proprii actus, ut : *Peccaverunt peccata pessima; pugnaverunt pugnam magnam; curro cursum; dormivi somnum brevem; vigilo longas vigilias; gaudeo gaudium magnum; vivo vitam bonam.* 2. Qui omnes accusativi possunt converti in ablativos causales iuxta sextam iuncturam subiungendam.

14 Quinta est verborum absolutorum cum accusativo vel ablativo temporis rem suam mensurantis, iuxta dicta in quinta iunctura verbi substantivi.

15 Sexta est verborum absolutorum cum ablativis causarum, ut in sexta iunctura verbi substantivi.

16 Septima est verborum absolutorum cum casibus locorum, iuxta doctrinam respondendi ad questiones locales superius positas in regulis adverbiorum. Et de hoc etiam scripsi in septima iunctura verbi substantivi.

XII

Capitulum tredecimum De iuncturis respectivorum

1 1. Verborum adiectivorum respectivorum pono iuncturas quatuordecim.

2. Prima est verborum transitivorum, cuiuscumque generis sint, cum accusativo rei, in qua fit sue significationis conversio secundum modum in regulis nuper positis declaratum, ut : *Amo Johannem; bibo vinum; loquor sermonem; criminor Petrum.* 3. Scias quod, quamvis omnia transitiva possunt sic regere accusativum, quandoque tamen ponuntur sine accusativo ad modum absolutorum. Primo quidem illa, que cum ipso actu sui suppositi passionem important, ut *amo, rideo, cupio, desidero, timeo, metuo.* Similiter verba sensuum, ut *audio, video, odor, gusto, tango, lugeo, ploro, lacrimor, plango, lamentor.*

13 1 dormio, D.

15 Sexta iunctura, C.

16 Septima iunctura, C.

XIII Cap. secundum, D.

1 2 Prima iunctura, C.

3 possunt : possint, C. — metuo om. C.

4. Secundo quedam activa que, ut dicit Pristianus, pro passivis poni solent, ut *lavo, tondeo, duro, calceo*, pro *lavor, tondeor, duror, calceor*. Sic Virgilius : *Et nox humida celo precipitat*, id est : *precipitatur*. Item Virgilius : *Cum tondent hirci*, id est : *cum tondentur*. *Vade lavare septies*, id est : *lavari*. 5. Tercio verba transitiva ponuntur sine accusativo transitionis, quando ex usu loquendi datur in verbo satis intelligi, eo scilicet quod est notorius satis, ut : *Dominus vivificat et mortificat; deducit ad inferos et reducit*.

2 1. Secunda regula est istorum XVI verborum : *postulo, posco, peto, doceo, rogo, flagito, celo, exuo, vestio, induo, interrogo, moneo, instruo, calceo, exigo*, et *cingo*, et si que alia sunt similia, cum duobus accusativis, primo transitionis, scilicet in quo fit conversio significationis, secundo vero materie circa quam est actus verbi. 2. Primo quippe accusativo signatur id in quod actus verbi recipitur; per secundum vero talis actus specificatur, ut : *Doceo te grammaticam; moneo te denarium; peto te pecuniam; instruo te mores*. Et lex dicit : *Exigo te duo mancipia; celo te secretum; exuo te tunicam; cingo me ense*, et sic de aliis, quibus aliqui addunt hoc verbum “audio”, ut : *audio te lectionem*. Sed illis non assentior.

3. Scias quod talia verba, que sic duos accusativos regunt, dicuntur verba vehementissime transitionis, id est, fortissime transitionis, quia eorum transitio est ita vehemens quod per unicum accusativum sufficienter terminari non possit, sed duo requiruntur; quorum tamen ultimus non est proprie casus transitionis, quia in eo non fit actus verbi conversio, mutando eum in nominativum secundum doctrinam prius positam in quinta regula; ymo in tali conversione ipse manet accusativus ut prius, et regitur a verbis passivis, sicut ab activis, ut : *Doceo te grammaticam / tu doceris a me grammaticam; interrogo te questionem / tu interrogaris a me questionem; moneo te debitum / tu moneris a me debitum; ego accingor ense; vestior tunicam*. 4. In multis autem istorum potest accusativus talis converti in ablativum causalem, et sepius materialem, ut : *Instruor grammaticam vel grammatica*, id est : *in grammatica; accingor ense vel ense*; de quo ablativo causali dixi supra in sexta iunctura verbi substantivi, et statim dicam in tredecima iunctura.

2 1 regula : iunctura, C. — si qua, BC. — in quem, C.

2 Primus quippe accusativus signat, C. — denarium : donatum, AD.

4 materialem : numeralem, AD.

3 1. Tercia est omnium verborum importantium ex speciali significatione aliquid acquiri alteri aut esse aut fieri sibi conveniens aut disconveniens, placens aut displicens, cum dativo illius, cui hoc fit vel acquiritur, ut: *placeo, annuo, consentio, assentio vel assentior, acquirō, do, reddo, indulgeo, dono, presto, exhibeo, cedo, concedo, defero, provideo, arrideo, subvenio, succurro*, et illorum contraria, ut *noceo, dissentio, denego, detraho, illudo, derogo, caveo, irrideo*. 2. Item multa deponentia ut *suffragor, patrocino, propicio, amminiculo, opitutor, blandior, largior, impertior, gratulor, regrator, amico*, et huiusmodi multa et eorum contraria, ut *inimico, minor vel interminor, insidior, obloquor, indignor, convitor, adversor, contumelior, iniurior*, et multa talia sic tamen accepta, quod ad rem comparentur acquirentem et non ad rem, in quam fiat sue significationis conversio, cui accusativus iungi debet per primam iuncturam nuper positam. 3. Scias quod in principio huius iuncture dictum est ex speciali significatione importantium, quia ex generali ratione omnia verba movendi accipi possunt ut acquisitiva, et per consequens iungi dativo, ut posui supra in tertia iunctura verbi substantivi. 4. Differunt tamen in verbis transitivis iste respectus acquisitivus et respectus transitivus, quia respectus transitivus est ad rem, in qua fit significationis verbi conversio, et ita videtur quasi respectus esse directe lineae. Sed iste respectus acquisitivus non est nisi ad rem, cui actus verbi potest esse utilis vel inutilis. 5. Hos autem utrosque respectus plurima verba hic exemplificata servant, ita ut cum dativo regant accusativum transitionis, ut: *Do tibi panem; largior tibi gratiam*; et hoc iuxta primam iuncturam nuper positam, quam infringere non possunt quaecumque iuncture sequentes. 6. Ideoque verba respicientia rem, cui suus actus utilis est ut terminum sue transitionis, regent illa in accusativo, et non in dativo, ut: *Remunero te; diligo te, laudo te*. Et sic dicta prima iunctura manet semper privilegiata, servans vigorem suum in omnibus iuncturis sequentibus. 7. Nota tamen quod quatuor sunt verba vocis active et quinque deponentia, quae contra predicta videntur exceptionem facere. Primo quidem ista quatuor: *benedico, maledico, noceo, invideo*, quae

3 1 Tercia iunctura, C.

2 impartior, C. — adversor *omm.* ACD. — accusativus: accidens, A.

3 movendi: mundi, ACD.

4 cui: cuius, C.

5 exemplificam, A. — sernant, C.

6 illam, C.

indifferenter dativo iungi possunt vel accusativo eiusdem rei, ut : *Benedico domino* vel *dominum*; *maledico te* vel *tibi*. *Noceo tibi* communiter dicitur; invenitur tamen, Judith decimo : *Deus omnipotens nocuit eum*; et tricesimotercio : *noceat te*. 8. Similiter “invideo” communiter cum dativo invenitur, ut : *Invideo tibi*. Sed quandoque cum accusativo ponitur, ut Aristotiles, primo Meth. : *Invidet deus hanc scientiam hominibus*; ymo et cum dativo eiusdem rei ut “invideo tibi”. Ideo dicit Oracius : *Si possum, invideor*. Sicque invenitur : *Noceor a te*. 9. Sed si attente consideremus prout capiuntur, ut acquisitiva iuxta istam iuncturam, sic semper regunt dativum, sed cum accipiuntur ut transitiva, semper iunguntur accusativo. Sic tamen raro inveniuntur. Et melius est sequi usum ea ponentem cum dativo. 10. Item ista duo deponentia “medeor” et “medicor” indifferenter iunguntur cum dativo vel accusativo, ut Therentius : *Quas res, cum adverse sint, minus posses mederi*. Et Virgilius : *Seminibus medicamur anhelis*. Sic etiam invenitur : *Medebitur ego*, vel *egrum*. Sed cum iunguntur dativo, capiuntur acquisitive, ut prius dixi. 11. Item ista duo deponentia “dominor” et “misereor” indifferenter iunguntur genitivo vel dativo eiusdem rei, ut : *misereor tui* vel *tibi*; *dominor tui* vel *tibi*. Sed *misereor* transitivum est aliquando, et tunc iungitur accusativo, ut : *Misereor casum tuum*, id est : *plango* vel *lugeo*. 12. Quoniam autem verbum deponens est “auxilior”, quod indifferenter iungitur genitivo vel dativo vel accusativo eiusdem rei, ut : *Auxilior tui* vel *tibi*; Isaye, 45 : *Auxiliatus sum tui*; et in psalmis : *Manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei*. Quandoque autem capitur ut verbum commune, ut dicit Pristianus, et sic dicitur : *Auxilior te*; *auxilior a te*.

4 1. Quarta est verborum importantium relationem paritatis, pre-eminentie vel subiectionis cum dativo, ad quem est talis relatio sive respectus. Exemplum de equiperativis, ut *obvio*, *occurro*, *obsto*, *obsisto*,

8 in accusativo, C. — scientiam : sententiam, AD.

10 medicamur : medicantur, C.

12 iungitur, C. — 45 : XLV, B — ut est verbum, C — auxilior te om. B.

4 1 equiperativis, C.

3 7 Judith XVI 7 : Deus omnipotens nocuit eum. *Alterum exemplum in Judith non inveni.*

3 8 Arist., *Met.* I 2. 982 32 (ed. W. D. Ross, Oxoniae 1924); Hor., *Ars* 56.

3 10 Ter., *Phormio* 822 : quas, cum res adversae sint, paulo mederi possis; Verg., *Georg.* II 135 : senibus medicantur anhelis.

3 12 Isaias XLI 10 : Auxiliatus sum tibi. *Psalm.* LXXXVIII 22; Prisc., *Inst. Gramm.* VIII 15.

obicio, adiungo, coniungo, loquor, altricor, sermocinor, fateor, confiteor, respondeo, adequo, assimilo, parifico, comparo tibi, vel tecum, et huiusmodi multa. 2. Exemplum de verbis supereminentie, ut *mando, iniungo, precipio, iubeo, impero, precello, preemineo, prevaleo tibi.* 3. Sed “presto” ut eminentiam importat, iunge dativo vel ablativo, et sepius ablativo, ut : *Prestiti illo.* Et ideo hoc accidit, quia in ordine ad rem, ad quam respicit, videtur habere modum cuiusdam comparativi gradus. Ideo regit eam in ablativo, ad modum duodecime iuncture adiectivi. 4. Et idem est tenendum de isto verbo “malo”, ut : *Malo aquam vino; malo pulcritudine sanitatem.* 5. Exemplum de verbis subiectionis, ut *servio, obedio, pario, ministro, famulor, subicior, supponor, et huiusmodi multa.* Quorum-que transitiva sunt, cum dativo huiusmodi iuncture iunguntur, et accusativo prime iuncture nuper posite, ut : *Loquor tibi veritatem; subicio te illi;* ymo etsi talem rem, ad quam fit relatio, respiceret ut terminum sue transitionis, scilicet in quo fieret sue significationis conversio, tunc regeret illam in accusativo, retinendo primam iuncturam et istam relinquendo. 6. Semper enim prefata prima iunctura dicitur in omnibus aliis esse privilegiata et excepta, ut patet de istis verbis “excedo, supero, vinco”, que important relationem supereminentie; unde dicitur *excedo te, non tibi; supero te; vinco te.* 7. Scias quod plurima verba huius iuncture comprehendi possunt in superiore et econtra, propter vicinitatem earum. Proprie illa pertinent ad superiorem, que de se important esse aut fieri aliquid utile vel inutile, gratum aut displicens alteri. Illa vero proprie sunt sub hac iunctura, que de se sunt quoad bonum vel malum indifferentia, sed relationem important ad aliquod, ut *contra quod, cum quo, aut supra quod;* sicut animadverti potest per exempla utriusque iuncture. 8. Est autem commune verbis istarum duarum iuncturarum, quod de ipsis potest Teutonice formari questio “wiem?”, ut si dicam *do panem,* recte queritur : “wiem?”, *Gerardo.* Item : *loquor veritatem;* “wiem?” *Gerardo.*

5 1. Quinta est istorum quinque deponentialium “vescor, potior, fungor, fruor, utor”, indifferenter cum genitivo, accusativo, vel ablativo; et istorum duorum “medeor” et “medicor”, cum dativo vel

5 relinquendo : relinquo, BC.

6 patet : potest, ABD.

7 ad aliquid, C.

8 Theutonice potest, C; — queritur wiem ... wiem : queritur wien ... wien, C.

5 cum tô, acgô vel ablativo, B.

accusativo; et istorum duorum “misereor” et “dominor” cum genitivo vel dativo; et istius verbi “auxilior” indifferenter cum genitivo, dativo vel accusativo ut : *Fungor officii, officium vel officio; vescor panis, panem vel pane*, et sic de aliis. 2. De quinque autem ultimis est facta mentio prius in declaratione tercie iuncture.

6 1. Sexta est verborum importantium obtinentiam vel carentiam, indifferenter cum genitivo vel ablativo rei, que obtinetur vel qua caretur, ut *egeo, indigeo, careo, expleo, impleo, repleo*, et sua passiva ut *impleor, repleor, abundo, deficio, vaco*, prout idem est quod “vacuus sum”, ut : *Vaco culpa*, id est : *sum sine culpa*. Aliquando autem idem est quod “intendere ad aliquid”, et sic iungitur dativo, ut : *Vaco tali operi; vaco tali studio*. 2. Dicitur ergo secundum hanc iuncturam *abundo panis vel pane; egeo vini vel vino; desino irarum vel ira*. 3. Sed verba intransitive importantia factionem iunguntur quidem cum accusativo prime iuncture sepius allegata, et cum ablativo huius iuncture, ut : *Exuo te tunica; spolio te rebus; evacuo te auro; emungo te argento; denudo; orbo; viduo; privo; excecō; mundo; purgo; abstineo me vino vel a vino*, quia quandoque talibus ablativis preponuntur prepositiones “a” vel “ab”, ut : *Spolio te prebenda vel a prebenda*. 4. Possent autem talia verba privativa sive carentiam significantia comprehendere in octava iunctura sequenti.

7 1. Septima est verborum susceptionem alicuius rei ab alia re importantium, cum ablativo rei, a qua fit susceptio; sepius tamen ei preponendo prepositionem “a” vel “ab”, aut eum convertendo in dativum more verborum passivorum, quibus talia verba susceptiva simulantur. 2. Omnis enim susceptio videtur esse passio quedam, et omnis passio fit suscipiendo. Exemplum, ut : *Didici a te Virgilium; Recepi, accepi vel suscepi a Paulo pecuniam*. Sic quoque dici potest : *peto a te, postulo a te*, quamvis enim dicatur : *peto te, postulo te*, ut prius in secunda iunctura huius capituli. 3. Servant autem hanc iuncturam verba neutralia sive deponentia vim sive significationem passivam habentia, ut *veneo, vapulo, exulo, fio, liceo a te vel tibi*. Talis enim ablativus sepe convertitur in dativum, ut dictum est, et etiam in ablativum quandoque sine prepositione, ut : *Claris ortus parentibus*, id est : *a claris parentibus*; aut : *excelso natus loco*, id est : *ab excelso*.

6 1 Sexta iunctura, C. — expleo : expelo, B; prebeo, ACD.

3 factionem : actionem, C fortasse recte. — abstineo om. C.

7 1 Septima iunctura, C. — simulantur, C. — ut dictum est prius in, C.

3 ortus : natus, BD.

4. Scias quod, quamvis talia verba susceptionis in hoc, quod susceptionem alicuius rei in supposito important, habeant modum passivorum, sunt tamen vere activa et transitiva, cum ablativo accusativum transitionis habentia, ut in exemplis patet. Possunt ergo in sua passiva converti. 5. Sed in tali conversione ablativus prius rectus ab activo non ammodo regetur a passivo, mediante prepositione “a” vel “ab”, sed convertetur in dativum aut removebitur prepositio, quia in regimine verbi passivi numquam additur prepositio “a” vel “ab”, nisi principali, quod erat suppositum verbi activi, ut : *Ego amo te; tu amaris a me*, ut prius dixi in quarta et in quinta regulis. 6. Si ergo dicatur : *Spolio te prebenda*, non convertitur sic : *prebenda a te spoliatur*, quia sic sensus esset quod prebenda te spoliaretur. Item : *Tu audis Tullium a Iohanne*, non convertitur sic : *Tullius auditur a Iohanne*, quia sensus esset quod Iohannes esset, qui audiret Tullium, quod falsum est. 7. Et debet illud notari, tam pro presenti iunctura quam pro sequenti.

8 1. Octava iunctura est verborum importantium remotionem sive separationem rei ab alia re cum ablativo rei, a qua fit separatio mediante prepositione “a” vel “ab”, aut cum dativo loco talis ablativi. Aliquando tamen, sed raro, ponitur ablativus sine prepositione. 2. Sint ergo exempla : *Absum tibi* vel *a te*; *discedo huic loco* vel *ab hoc*; *removeo bonum a malo*; *separo pulcrum a turpi*; *recedo a Francia*; *différo ab asino*, *auféro*, *tollo*, *démô*, *eripio tibi* vel *a te panem*; *dehortor*, *detraho*, *averto te huic rei* vel *ab hac re*. 3. Tamen in quibusdam magis est conveniens et congrua conversio ablativi in dativum quam in aliis, ut patet inspicienti. In quibusdam autem ponitur ablativus sine prepositione, ut : *Sicilia recessi*, id est : *a Sicilia*; *impia eripe me manu*, id est : *ab impia*; *libero te metu*; *expedio te vinculis*. 4. Ut autem sepius dixi in aliis iuncturis, quæ istorum verborum ad hanc iuncturam pertinentium transitiva sunt, cum hac iunctura retinent etiam accusativum, sicut in multis exemplis vidisti.

9 1. Nona est verborum dampnativorum vel accusativorum, indifferenter cum genitivo vel ablativo criminis vel pene, cum quibus casibus retinent etiam accusativum sue transitionis, ut sepius in aliis dixi, ut : *Tu obligasti te furti* vel *furto*; *accuso te maiestatis* vel *maiestate*; *dampno*

6 *Spolio te prebenda*, non convertitur sic quod *prebenda a te spoliatur*. Item *etc.*, BC; *Spolio te prebenda*, quia sic sensus esset quod *prebenda te spoliaretur*. Item *etc.*, AD.

8 2 vel *ab hoc loco*, D. — *dehortor* : *detrahor*, C.

3 *Cicilia*, AC.

te mortis vel morte. 2. Sic noto, quito, incuso, reprehendo, vitupero, et sua contraria, ut laudo, commendo, excuso. Item arguo, corripio, ago iniuriarum, ago furti, punio vel plecto te capitis vel capite. Sepius tamen “capite” in modum cause materialis. 3. Et sic etiam dicitur : peniteo huius rei, vel hac re, si cum genitivo vel ablativo criminis, sed non cum casu pene, quia de se penam signat. 4. Scias quod dicti duo casus, criminis et pene, raro inveniuntur concurrere. Non enim dicitur *condemno te maiestatis mortis*; *condemno te furti capitis*, eo quod ambo videntur venire per eandem vim unius et eiusdem iuncture. Ideo posito uno, non ponitur alius. 5. Adduntur etiam predictis verbis multa verba contrarie significationis ut *excuso, expurgo te vitii vel vitio*; *commendo vel laudo te virtutis aut virtute*, et *multarum artium*, aut *multis artibus*. 6. Unde et quodammodo ex vi huius iuncture hoc verbum “dignor” transumptive sumptum regit genitivum vel ablativum cum suo accusativo, ut : *Dignor te honoris vel honore*, id est : *dignum iudico*; propter quod et suum adiectivum, scilicet “dignus”, etiam genitivo vel ablativo iungitur, ut : *Dignus laude vel dignus laudis*; sicut dixi prius in septima iunctura, quamvis proprie dici possit, quod iungitur ablativo ut cause per quintam iuncturam adiectivorum. 7. Et pariformiter dic de isto adiectivo “reus”; dicitur enim *reus iniuriarum vel iniuriis, furti vel furto*.

10 1. Decima est verborum memorationis vel oblivionis cum genitivo vel accusativo rei memorate vel oblivioni date, ut *obliviscor, memoror, memini, recordor huius rei vel hanc rem*, et si qua alia sunt similia. 2. Et in hoc sensu hoc verbum “miror” invenitur in decimo Eneydum cum genitivo, ut in hoc versu : *Iusticie ne prius mirer bellive laboris*. 3. Et sic similiter “letor”, quod ad ista habet propinquitatem. Ponitur etiam cum genitivo, ut apud Virgilium : *Nec veterum memini, letor vel laboris*. 4. Sed quedam verba active sive transitive importantia aliquod inducere alteri, etiam regunt accusativum transitionis iuxta primam iuncturam, et genitivum huius iuncture, scilicet rei memorate, ut *memoro, commonefacio te huius rei*, ut apud Boetium est : *Nam me*

9 5 expurgo vitii, C — artium vel multis, BC.

6 transumptive : *fortasse legendum est* transitive. — iunguntur, B.

10 2 Eneydos, D. — belli vel, AD.

3 letorve, C.

10 2 Verg., *Aen.* XI 126 : *Iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborem*.

10 3 Verg., *Aen.* XI 280 : *Nec veterum memini laetorve malorum*.

10 4 Boethius, *Cons.* III 12.1.

iam harum rerum commemoras, sicut moneo te promissi tui, vel promissum tuum, ut prius in secunda iunctura. 5. Sic: *Consulo te rerum mearum.* Verbum enim “consulo” significat quandoque “alteri consilium dare” et sic iungitur dativo, ut: *Consulo tibi*, per terciam iuncturam nuper positam; quandoque “consulo” est “aliquid hortari vel ammonere de consilio dando super aliqua re” et sic regit accusativum transitionis cum genitivo huius iuncture, ut: *Consulo te huius rei*, sicut “ammiror”. Loco tamen talis genitivi communiter ponitur ablativus cum prepositione “de”, ut: *Consulo te de hac vel illa re.* Vides ergo quomodo differenter dicitur: *Consulo medicum*, et *medicus consuluit michi.* 6. Adiectiva autem verborum huius iuncture, ut *memor*, et si qua sunt similia, iunguntur tantum genitivo, ut: *Memor lectionis*, iuxta terciam iuncturam adiectivorum.

11 1. Undecima est verborum rem suam ut mensurabilem importantium, cum accusativo vel ablativo sue mensure, exceptis verbis importantibus excessum secundum modum comparativi gradus, que tamen iunguntur sue mensure in ablativo ad modum tredecime iuncture adiectivi prius posite cum re, ad quam comparantur, sicut dixi nuper in quarta iunctura. 2. Excipiuntur etiam verba per precium determinabilia, de quibus in sequenti iunctura videbis. 3. Erit ergo exemplum huius iuncture, sive sit mensura temporis, ut: *Scripti tres horas*, vel *tribus horis*; *cucurri totam diem*, vel *tota die*; sive sit mensura ponderis, ut: *Hoc ponderat sex marcas* vel *sex marcis*; sive sit mensura longitudinis, ut: *Hec urbs distat ab illa sex leucas* vel *leucis.* 4. Exemplum de verbis habentibus modum comparativi gradus ut *supero*, *excedo te duobus digitis*. Non autem dicitur *excedo te duos digitos*; *excedo* vel *supero te multo* vel *parvo.* 5. Unde et ista duo verba “malo” et “presto” ablativum talem regunt, excessum suum mensurantem, ut: *Multo malo aquam vino*; *malo hunc librum illo duobus solidis*; *hic liber prestat illi* vel *illo duobus denariis*, et si que similis sunt significationis. 6. Que autem omnium verborum iuncture istius transitiva sunt retinent cum iusta iunctura accusativum sue transitionis, sicut sepe dixi de aliis.

12 1. Duodecima est verborum per mensuram precii determina-

5 tamen: autem, C. — Vide, C.

11 1 Undecima iunctura, C.

4 ut *omm.* BC.

5 si que: si qua, BD.

12 1 Duodecima iunctura, C.

bilium, cum genitivo vel ablativo precii indeterminati, et cum ablativo precii determinati. 2. Exemplum de pretio indeterminato, ut : *Hoc valet multi vel multo*. Dicit enim Augustinus : *Regnum celorum tanti valet, quanti es; te da et habebis illud*. Istud autem verbum “est” sic pro “valet” sumptum, est in hoc modo loquendi frequentissimum, ut : *Quanti res erat, tanti et condemnandus vel quanto et tanto res erat, tanti et condemnandus*. 3. Sic et ista : *emo, vendo, consto, veneo, estimo, liceor, liceo, appretior te pluris; istud potest venundari multo vel multi*. 4. Exemplum de pretio determinato, ut : *Emi, vendidi librum sex denariis, non denariorum*. Et sic in omnibus aliis, dempto hoc verbo “valet”, quod cum precio determinato quandoque in ablativo ponitur ut cetera, ut : *Valet sex denariis*, sed etiam sepe in accusativo, ut : *Valet sex solidos*. 5. Exceptio etiam est de verbis transitivis, quorum actus transit in ipsum precium. Ideo iunguntur tali precio in accusativo per primam iuncturam sepius allegatam, ut : *Vidi sex denarios; solvi decem solidos, accepi vel recepi sex florenos, non sex florenorum vel sex florenis*. 6. Scias quod verba ad actum mensurandi pertinentia, ut *apprecior, metior, mensuro, estimo, reputo, puto* et huiusmodi, cuiuscumque mensure sive temporis, sive precii sive ponderis etcetera, addi possunt genitivo vel ablativo mensure, ut : *Estimo hoc opus multi temporis vel multo tempore; mensus sum te tanta longitudine vel tante longitudinis; estimo vel reputo hoc decem marcis*; ymo inveniuntur etiam cum precio determinato in genitivo, ut : *Estimo hoc decem marcarum*.

7. Et forte distinctio superior de precio determinato vel indeterminato non est nimis necessaria cum indifferenter omnia verba huius iuncture cuicumque precio iungantur in genitivo vel ablativo, sed usus eam observat. Ideo eam posui.

13 1. Decimatercia est verborum omnium quecumque sint cum ablativis suarum causarum, ut in sexta iunctura verbi substantivi prius satis est declaratum. 2. Scias autem quod illi ablativi sunt causales, qui possunt resolvi in prepositiones, scilicet in “per, de, propter, a et ab” et similia, ut in hoc brevi exemplo, ubi breviter omnia causarum genera concurrunt : *Vir et mulier carne et anima, iussu parentum, causa*

13 1 Decimatercia iunctura, C. — prius *omm*. AD.
2 exemplo patet, D.

12 2 Cf. August., *Enarr. in Ps.* 49, 13 (*Corpus Christ.*, t. 38, p. 586) et 111, 7 (*id.*, t. 40, p. 1629).

procreande sobolis matrimonio coniuncti sunt. 3. Requiritur autem aliquid speciale pro causa efficiente et pro causa finali, ut in sexta iunctura verbi substantivi vidisti.

14 Decimaquarta est omnium verborum, quecumque illa sint, cum casibus locorum secundum exigentiam questionum localium, quas dissolvere videbitur, iuxta notata in quinque regulis adverbiorum prius positis.

XIV

Capitulum decimumquartum

De iuncturis verborum passivorum. LIBER QUINTUS

1 1. Passivorum iuncturas verborum, impersonalium et infinitivorum liber iste quintus habebit. Verba enim activa, communia et deponentia sufficienter comprehensa sunt in iuncturis et regulis superioribus, si bene intelligantur. Ideo iam de passivis parum dicendum videbitur, quorum tres pono iuncturas.

2. Prima est verborum passivorum cum accusativo synodoches, de quo prius dixi in prima iunctura absolutorum.

3. Secunda est verborum passivorum cum omnibus illis casibus quos sua activa regebant, excepto accusativo transitionis, quem convertunt in nominativum pro suo supposito, ut : *Amo Johannem*; *Johannes amatur*. 4. Possunt autem dari exempla huius iuncture inducendo in omnibus iuncturis superioribus, in quibus semper invenies idem regimen pro activo et suo passivo, ut sicut dicitur : *Emo equum multi* vel *multo*, ita : *equus emitur multi* vel *multo*; sicut dicitur : *Do tibi panem*, ita : *tibi datur panis*; *verbero te baculo*, *tu verberaris baculo*, et sic in omnibus aliis. 5. Excipiatur tamen semper accusativus transitionis, qui manere non potest, eo quod fit conversio significationis verbi, et sic fit suppositum passionis : quare poni debet in nominativo. Si autem esset talis accusativus in quo non fieret significationis verbi conversio, bene remanere posset, ut : *Doceo te gramaticam* / *tu doceris a me gramaticam*; *peto te questionem* / *tu peteris a me questionem*, et sic de

3 sexta : tertia, D.

14 Iuxta maneriem quam descripsi tibi pridem Decimaquarta iunctura, C.

XIV Liber quintus incipit. Ca. primum, D.

1 2 Prima iunctura, C.

3 Secunda iunctura, C.

4 suo *om.* C; *emo* : *emi*, C.

aliis verbis vehementissime transitionis, quorum semper secundus accusativus regi potest a suis passivis. 6. Similiter in accusativo temporis, ut sicut dicitur : *Amavi te sex annos*, ita : *fui amatus sex annos*. 7. Adverte tamen quod non fit conversio ut activa omnes iuncturas habeant passivorum, ut patet de accusativo synodoches, de quo prius in prima iunctura absolutorum, et de nonnullis aliis, ut patet per dicta prius.

8. Tercia est verborum passivorum cum supposito sui accusativi in ablativo mediante prepositione “a” vel “ab”, vel in dativo loco ablativi talis, ut : *Ego diligo Johannem* / *Johannes diligitur a me*, vel *mihi*; *video te* / *tu videris a me* vel *mihi*. 9. Posset tamen, et nonnumquam invenitur, talis prepositio removeri, et talis ablativus sine prepositione poni, sed hoc est raro.

2

De iuncturis impersonalium verborum

1. Quomodo verborum impersonalium quedam sint active vocis, quedam passive satis per me tibi dictum arbitror. Sunt enim active vocis que in -t desinunt ut *penitet*, passive vero que in -tur, ut *amatur*, *legitur*. Nunc autem illorum volens tradere iuncturas, tres illis has regulas premitto.

2. Prima regula est : Omne verbum impersonale est derivative speciei nullius numeri, nullius persone, eiusdem coniugationis cum personali, a quo nascitur; primo quidem derivative speciei, quia omnia descendunt a quibusdam verbis personalibus; nullius autem numeri vel persone, quia casui cuiuslibet numeri vel persone addi possunt, ut in indicativo *a me*, *te*, *aliquo*, *nobis*, *vobis*, *aliquibus* *curritur*. Sic in imperativo, ut : *curratur a me*, *te*, *aliquo*, *nobis*, *vobis*, *aliquibus*; et sic de optativo et aliis modis dicitur. De coniugatione autem satis manifestum est.

3. Secunda regula : omne impersonale active vocis descendit a personali neutro ut a “contingo”, *contingit*, “evenio”, *evenit*, “accido”, *accidit*, “placeo”, *placet*, et sic de aliis. 4. Scias quod omnia impersonalia active vocis, que statim ponentur, possunt quandoque personaliter teneri, ut : *placet*, *placeo*, *places*; *penitet*, *peniteo*, *penites*;

6 ita fui ... annos *om.* C.

8 Tercia iunctura verborum, C.

2 1 sint : sunt, C. — illis : illi, AD.

2 casui : verbo, AD.

3 vocis aliquando descendit, C.

vacat, vaco, -as, et sic de aliis. Et ideo talia impersonalia dicuntur descendere a se ipsis sic personaliter captis. 5. Quedam tamen sunt, que non possunt sic personaliter capi in omnibus personis, sed in tertiis tantum, ut dicit Pristianus, ut : *miseret, piget, pudet, decet, oportet et licet*. 6. Item quedam istorum, licet sint vocis active, tamen inveniuntur habere preterita active vocis et etiam passive vocis, ut : *placet, placuit, placitum est; licet, licuit vel licitum est; miseret, miseruit vel misertum est; tedet, teduit vel pertesum est; pudet, puduit vel puditum est*. 7. Que etiam preterita quandoque inveniuntur habere significationem passivam et passivorum constructionem servare, sed capiendo pro supposito ablativum cum prepositione aut loco eius dativum, ut : *a me vel mihi misertum est huius rei* aut *me misertum est*. Sic *me, a me vel mihi pertesum est doloris tui*, ut per sequentia magis intelliges, etcetera.

8. Tercia regula : omne impersonale passive vocis nascitur a verbis activis vel neutralibus activam vel absolutam vim habentibus, ut : *amatur, legitur, vivitur, statur*. 9. Impersonalia ergo nulla veniunt a passivis communibus vel deponentalibus passive significantibus. Sed videtur exceptio de hoc verbo “misereor”, de quo *miseret*. Dic vetustissimos “misereor” pro “misereor” dixisse, et ab ipso verbo “misereor” impersonale “miseret” descendisse. 10. Item non veniunt impersonalia ab anormalis, nisi a “fero” et “edo”, nec a defectivis, ut sunt *odi, memini*, etcetera, nec a verbis excepte actionis, que necessariam habent determinationem suppositi, ideoque non possunt impersonari, sicut nec alia personalia in primis et in secundis personis, in quibus etiam habent suppositum determinatum. 11. Item nec a “facio” cum suis compositis, eo quod non recipiunt passivum. Non enim dicitur “facitur”. Sicut tamen pro passivo capit hoc verbum “fio”, ita potest dici quod hoc verbum “fit”, sumptum impersonaliter, dicetur ut sit suum impersonale.

3 1. Prima iunctura est impersonalium passive vocis cum ablativo mediante prepositione, persone indifferentis pro suo supposito, aut cum dativo loco illius ablativi ut *a me, te vel aliquo curritur*, vel *mihi*,

6 placui, ABD.

8 vivitur om. D.

10 odi, novi, memini, C.

3 1 vel mihi, a me ... statur omm. BC.

7 sic a me vel mihi, C. — etcetera omm. AD.

9 deponentibus, AD. — Sed : et sic, A.

11 recipiuntur, ABD — capitur, D.

a me vel *mihi videtur*; *a me, te, aliquo statur* vel *mihi, tibi, alicui*.

2. Scias tamen quod, quia impersonalia ista indifferentia sunt ad omnem numerum et personam, ideo ubicumque ponantur, semper includunt suum suppositum, quamvis expressum non sit; nec est necesse illud exprimi, sicut nec in personalibus verbis prime vel secunde persone, que etiam suum suppositum sufficienter includunt; sed ista quidem propter determinationem suppositi, impersonalia autem propter nimiam indeterminationem et confusionem. 3. Patet ergo cur huiusmodi impersonalia ita frequenter ponantur sine suppositis expressis, ut *curritur, statur*. Hoc enim non est quia suppositum non habeant, sed quia illud sufficienter includunt.

4. Secunda iunctura: omnium impersonalium passive vocis, cum omnibus illis casibus, quos verba personalia, a quibus formantur, post se regebant, excepto accusativo transitionis. Sicut enim dicitur *emo tanti*, ita *emitur tanti*; *noceo tibi* / *nocetur tibi*; *doleo caput* / *doletur caput*; *hic stabo sex horas* / *hic stabitur sex horas*; *eo Coloniam* / *itur Coloniam*; *percutio baculo* / *percutitur baculo*; *pugnatur cominus armis*, ut dicit Virgilius. Et generaliter sic inducere potest in iuncturis superioribus. 5. Scias tamen quod inde debes excipere accusativum transitionis, quem impersonale verbum non retinet, quia quamvis impersonale actum importet, importat tamen ipsum absolutum et non per accusativum terminabilem. Propter quod hec non est congrua: *a me legitur Virgilium*, sed hec bene est congrua: *a me docetur grammaticam*; non autem ista: *a me docetur te grammaticam*, eo quod ipse accusativus “te” est accusativus transitionis, non autem accusativus “grammaticam”, ut dixi in iunctura passivorum. 6. Idem dicas de omnibus verbis vehementissime transitionis duplices accusativos regentibus. Contrarie autem opinionis fuit Alexander, dicens: *Matheum legitur*; *psalmos erat ante legendum*. 7. Debes etiam ab illa iunctura excipere nominativum casum copulationis, quem omnia verba personalia regere possunt, ut dixi in prima iunctura verbi substantivi.

2 quod *om.* C. nimiam determinationem, C.

3 includunt etc., B.

4 potes, CD.

XIV 3 4 Verg., *Aen.* VII 553.

3 6 Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* 1264.

4 1. Tercia est istorum XI impersonalium active vocis cum dativo, ut patet in his versibus :

*Contigit, accidit, evenit, et placet adde dativo;
Et libet atque licet, liquet et vacat additur istis;
Sufficit et constat predictis iungere debes,*

ut : *mihi placet legere; mihi contigit currere; mihi constat ita esse.*

2. Scias autem quod omnia predicta personaliter sumpta possunt regere dativum post se, ut patet per iuncturas precedentes. 3. Illum quoque dativum, quando impersonaliter sumuntur, regunt a parte post et iunguntur infinitivo personali, ut : *mihi placet legere Virgilium,*

vel impersonali, ut : *mihi placet amari* vel *legi ab aliquo* vel *aliquibus.*

4. Loco autem talis infinitivi quandoque iunguntur modo subiunctivo, personali vel impersonali, ut : *mihi placet legere* vel *quod legam; placet mihi amari* vel *quod amer* scilicet *ab aliquo* vel *aliquibus,* etcetera.

5. Et adverte quod predictis videtur simile hoc impersonale “apparet”, ut : *ita mihi apparet esse* vel *quod ita sit.* Nec est inconveniens quod sint adhuc aliqua hic non expressa, sed ista sunt precipua et magis usitata.

6. Quarta est istorum quinque impersonalium : *latet, iuvat, decet, delectat, oportet,* cum accusativo a parte post et cum infinitivis personalibus vel impersonalibus, aut modis coniunctivis loco talium infinitivorum, ut : *me oportet comedere* vel *comedi; me decet legere* vel *legi; delectat me ludere* vel *ludi; me iuvat ita facere* vel *ita fieri* vel *quod ita fiat; me latet ita esse* vel *quod ita sit.* 7. Scias quod eundem accusativum regunt personalia istorum quinque impersonalium, ut : *studium delectat me; talis decet hostia Christum; res talis latet me.* Unde et in lege scriptum est : *mulier latens patronum.*

5 1. Quinta est istorum quinque impersonalium : *penitet, tedet, miseret, piget* et *pudet,* cum accusativo et genitivo a parte post, ut : *me penitet huius rei; me pudet peccati; me miseret tui; tedet animam meam vite mee; penitet me doloris tui.* 2. Sunt autem qui dicunt quod accusativus

4 1 Tercia iunctura, C. — iungere : addere, D.

3 reguntur, D.

6 Quarta iunctura, C. — est om. A. — personalium, C.

5 1 Quinta iunctura, C.

2 autem omm. BC.

4 1 Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale* 1234-35: *Contigit, evenit, accidit et .../...additur istis. Tertius versus non est Alexandri.*

4 7 *Digesta*, XXXV 1.8 : Si ea latitans patronum de medio discessit ...

ponitur pro supposito a parte ante, et genitivus a parte post, quasi terminus transitionis sive respectus verbi impersonalis. Cuius duo sunt signa. 3. Primum ex resolutione talium orationum ut : *me tedet huius rei*, id est : *ego habeo tedium de hac re*; *me pudet peccati*, id est : *ego habeo pudorem de peccato*, et sic de aliis; ubi videmus accusativum resolvi in nominativum. 4. Secundum signum est quod ista verba non ponuntur sic impersonaliter sine suo accusativo, bene autem ponuntur sine genitivo, scilicet cum infinitivis, ut : *penitet me fecisse hominem*; *tedet me scribere*; *pudet me peccasse*. Ex quo concluditur accusativum esse his verbis magis necessarium et magis intrinsecum genitivis.

6 1. Sexta est istorum duorum impersonalium *refert* et *interest*, cum genitivis, ut : *patris interest filium castigare*; *matris refert filium amare*. Quale regimen habet etiam hoc verbum “est” sumptum pro “interest”, ut : *regis est iuste vivere*; *regine est castitatem servare*. 2. Loco tamen genitivorum istorum trium pronominum “ego, tu, sui” uniuntur dicta impersonalia istis quinque ablativis singularibus substantivatis : *mea*, *tua*, *sua*, *nostra*, *vestra*; ut : *interest vestra*, non *vestri*. 3. Et adhuc antiquitus pro isto interrogativo “cuius” ponebatur iste ablativus “cuius”, ut : *cuius interest? mea* vel *nostra*, ut scilicet maior esset conformitas interrogativi ad sua responsiva. 4. Scias quod, ut dixi, tales ablativi singulares tenentur substantive, et omnia servant vim substantivorum, pro quibus ponuntur. Potest enim alius genitivus eis addi, vel copulative, ut : *interest mea et Johannis*, vel appositive, ut : *interest mea regis*, vel adiective, ut : *interest mea legis*. 5. Addi etiam ei potest aliquod relative, ut : *interest mea qui lego*; proprie tamen diceretur *interest mei* vel *vestri*, nisi usus semper regimen superius observasset. 6. Adverte autem quod “interest” et “refert”, ut in exemplis capta sunt, signant quandam pertinentiam vel utilitatem officii. Sed inveniuntur quandoque prout signant differentiam, ut : *nil interest*; *nil refert tacere vel loqui*, id est : *nulla differentia est*. 7. Et in isto sensu servant adhuc eandem iuncturam ut prius, ut Tullius in tercio nove Rhetorice : *Nostra nichil intersit utrum a summo an ab*

4 me penitet, BC.

6 1 Sexta iunctura, C. — Quale : quod, C.

5 aliquod : aliquid, C.

5 4 Genesis VI 7 : me penitet fecisse hominem.

6 7 Ad Her. III 30 : Nihil nostra intersit utrum ab summo an ab imo an ab medio nomina eorum dicere incipiamus. Ter., Eunuchus 232-233.

infimo vel a medio incipiamus. Et in isto sensu quandoque tenetur personaliter, et tunc iungitur dativo vel ablativo rei, a qua est differentia, iuxta octavam regulam verborum respectivorum prius positam, ut in Therencio : *Stulto intelligens quid interest*, id est : *quantum differt sapiens a stulto*, capiendo accusativum “quid” adverbialiter, id est “quantum”. 8. Tercio modo inveniuntur dicta verba quasi importantia dampnum vel dampnificationem alicuius, ut : *interest tua hoc non esse factum*, id est : *ad dampnum vel gravamen tuum pertinet quod hoc non sit factum*. 9. Et ab “interest” sic accepto venit iste usitatus terminus “interesse”, quod sonat quasi dampnum; ut : *volo repetere meum interesse*; *volo agere ad interesse*. 10. Et ad hec isto tercio modo capta retinent precedentem iuncturam. Quia tamen ad precium quodammodo pertinent, iunguntur etiam mensura precii in genitivo vel ablativo, omnino sicut prius dictum est in duodecima iunctura verborum respectivorum, ut : *parvi vel parvo refert*; et hic : *tanti vel tanto condempnabitur procurator*, *quanti vel quanto tua interest eum non comparuisse*. 11. Quod etiam servant “interest” et “refert” secundo modo prius dicto accepta propter magnam propinquitatem secundi modi cum isto tercio. Potest enim dici *parvi vel parvo refert utrum a summo vel ab infimo incipiamus*.

7 1. Septima predictorum omnium impersonalium cum casibus temporalibus, localibus et causalibus, cum quibus sua personalia construi potuerunt, ut : *me pertesum est vite tres annos vel tribus annis*; *me pertesum est toto corde et tota mente doloris tui*; *me pertesum est Lovanii*, iuxta determinata in quinta, sexta et septima iuncturis verborum absolutorum.

2. Octava est istius impersonalis *fit* cum modo subiunctivo, numquam cum infinitivo, et istorum impersonalium *solet*, *potest*, *debet*, *consuevit*, *incipit*, et si qua hoc modo absoluta sint cum infinitivis impersonalibus, dumtaxat a quibus supposita sua accipiant. Exemplum de “fit”, ut : *fit quod autores legantur*; *ita fit ut Deum magis amem quam tu*. 3. Exemplum de aliis, ut : *debet fieri quod oratores legantur*; *potest contingere quod Plato currat*, capiendo “fieri” et “contingere” impersonaliter; *solet queri*; *consuevit dubitari*; *incipit amari*. 4. Pro cuius declaratione scias quod huiusmodi impersonalia descendunt a

9 terminus interesse : t. interest, AD.

10 Et ad hec : Et hec, C. — precedentem : presentem, CD.

7 1 Septima iunctura, C; S. est, D.

2 Octava iunctura, C.

quibusdam personalibus absolutis, que post se regere non possunt casuale aliquid, sed immediate sine casuali iunguntur infinitivis personalibus; non enim bene diceretur *possum me sedere*, sed *possum sedere*; *incipio me ludere* non dicitur, sed *incipio ludere*. Cuius causa hec est, quia clausula infinitivi cum suo supposito habetur pro uno casuali, propter quod bene potest addi verbis post se casuale regentibus, ut: *dico te sedere*; *cupio te legere*. Sed absolutis post se non habentibus casuale addi non potest. 5. Ex qua re sequuntur duo consideranda. Primum quod talia verba absoluta non possunt iungi infinitivis impersonalibus, quia tales infinitivi impersonales ita intrinsece et virtualiter includunt suum suppositum, quod in eis habetur quasi expressum. Sicut ergo infinitivis personalibus non potuit dici *possum me sedere*, eo quod talis clausula “me sedere” equivaleret casuali, ut dictum est, ita nec dici potest *possum oportere legere*, quia de necessitate equivaleret isti “possum me oportere me legere”; aut *incipio amari*, capiendo li “amari” impersonaliter, quod in talibus impersonalibus infinitivis suppositum semper habetur pro expresso. 6. Ex eodem sequitur secundo quod impersonalia huiusmodi ablativorum, de quibus est hec iunctura, ex se non habentia unde suppositum capiant, necessario iungi debent infinitivis impersonalibus, a quibus suppositum accipiant. 7. Tales enim infinitivi habent ubertatem suppositi quod possunt communicare verbis, quibus adiunguntur, si non habeant ex se, ut patet in his exemplis: *Socratis incipit interesse legere*; *Socrati contingit* vel *incipit contingere legere*; *Socratem incipit tedere docere* vel *legere*; *a Socrate debet legi*; *a nonnullo potest queri*; *a multis solet dubitari*; in quibus omnibus obliquus debitus infinitivo impersonali pro supposito regitur ab ipso infinitivo. 8. Supponit tamen infinitivo impersonali et hoc cum impersonali precedente, scilicet “debet” vel “potest”, etcetera. 9. Infinitivus autem personalis sic non potest suum suppositum alteri communicare, cum et ipsemet quandoque sine supposito ponatur, ut: *volo legere*; *possum sedere*. Non ergo potest dici *me potest sedere*; *me potest legere*, ut li “me” supponat utrique verbo, sicut “a me” cum dicitur *a me potest legi*. 9. Patet ergo cur predicta impersonalia non iunguntur nisi infinitivis impersonalibus. 10. Cetera autem impersonalia, de quibus in superioribus iuncturis

4 aliquod, CD.

5 expresse, C.

7 quod possum, C.

dictum est, quia suppositum de se habent, indifferenter iungi possunt infinitivis tam personalibus quam impersonalibus, ut in suis iuncturis dixi.

XV

Capitulum decimumquintum De iuncturis infinitivorum

1 1. Iuncturis infinitivorum preponitur hec sola regula, videlicet quod infinitivus quandoque ponitur pro modo indicativo, ut Therentius : *Ego illud sedulo negare factum*, id est : *negabam*. In quo modo loquendi est Sallustius frequens. 2. Quandoque ponitur pro modo subiunctivo, ut : *volo te venire*, id est : *ut venias*; quandoque loco primi gerundii, ut : *dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri*, id est : *fiendi*. 3. Quandoque pro secundo gerundio, ut : *piger currere*, id est : *currendo* vel *ad currendum*. Et sic etiam pro tercio gerundio, ut : *sedet populus manducare*, id est : *ad manducandum*; *vocate illos loqui mecum*, id est : *ad loquendum*; *surrexit ludere*, id est, *ad ludendum*. 4. Quandoque pro primo supino, ut : *vado ludere*, id est : *lusum*; *vado parare vobis locum*, id est : *paratum*. Quandoque pro ultimo supino, ut : *difficile dici*, id est : *dictu*. 5. Unde et quandoque, sed cum maiori circumlocutione invenitur infinitivus pro imperativo, ut : *iubeo te salvere*, id est : *salve*; *iubeo te facere hoc*, id est : *fac hoc*. De istis autem omnibus possunt colligi multa plura exempla. 6. Sed hec est prima iunctura infinitivorum verborum personalium cum accusativo pro suo supposito, non quidem ex natura verbi, sed ex natura infinitivi modi. Ex quo scilicet quantum ad naturam verbi sequuntur duo. 7. Primum quod verborum accusativum non regentium infinitivi accusativum regunt ante se eis supponentem, ut in hoc verbo “placeo, places”, quod accusativum non regit. Dicitur tamen in infinitivo *Socratem placere mihi*; *hanc rem placere*

XV Ca. secundum, D. — *titulus in C* : De infinitivis.

1 1 Iuncturis infinitivorum preponitur *om.* C. — frequens : loquens, A.

2 Dei : de, A.

4 Quandoque pro primo ... paratum *om.* C. — ut ante vado *om.* B. — pro ultimo supino : pro supino secundo, C.

5 multo plura, B.

6 Sed hec est *om.* C.

XV 1 1 Ter., *Andria* 146.

mihi est verum. Sic et in infinitivis passivis accusativum ante se regentibus, quem sua passiva non regebant, ut : *Johannem amari est bonum*.

8. Sequitur secundo quod infinitivus personalis quandoque capi potest cum accusativo sibi supponente, ut : *dico me legere*; quandoque capi potest sine tali supposito, cum sit ei quodammodo extrinsecum, ut dictum est, ut in his : *possum legere*; *debeo studere*; *incepti comedere*. Non autem dicitur : *possum me legere*, vel *me studere*. 9. Quedam enim sunt verba, que post se habere non possunt casuale, que inter se et infinitivum casuale non patiuntur. Ideo sine accusativo medio immediate iunguntur infinitivo, ut declaratum est in iunctura ultima impersonalium. 10. Sunt autem huiusmodi verba *desino*, *incipio*, *possum*, *nequeo*, *soleo*, *consueo*, *audeo*, *nitor*, *tempto*, *festino*, *propero*, *tardo*, *pigritor*, *gravor* et huiusmodi.

2 1. Secunda est infinitivorum verborum impersonalium cum eodem supposito a parte ante, quod habebat suum verbum impersonale in omnibus aliis modis, et sic semper habent suppositum ex natura verbi, sicut huius impersonalis “amatur” suppositum est ab aliquo vel ab aliquibus. 2. Ita etiam dicendo *volo amari*, capiendo ly “amari” impersonaliter, suppositum est ab aliquo vel ab aliquibus. Simile dicas in impersonalibus active vocis, ut : *volo mihi licere studere*; *volo mihi placere studere*; *scio me oportere legere*; *cupio me delectare in bono*, capiendo illos infinitivos impersonaliter; nec oportet huiusmodi supposita semper exprimi, eo quod intrinseca sunt ipsi infinitivo, eo quod semper habentur pro expressis. 3. Ex quo sequuntur duo : Primum est quod tales infinitivi impersonales numquam addi possunt verbis impersonalibus, quibus non possunt addi infinitivi personales cum supposito expresso, ut *possum*, *incipio*, etc., de quibus prius dixi in ultima iunctura impersonalium. 4. Sequitur secundo quod huiusmodi infinitivi impersonales possunt aliis verbis impersonalibus ante se positis communicare suppositum, ut *debet*, *solet*, etc., et huiusmodi absolutis, que de se non habent aliquod suppositum. 5. Non sic autem est de infinitivis personalibus, cum ipsimet suppositum non habeant ex natura sui verbi, sed quodammodo extrinsece ex natura infinitivi. Pro quibus omnibus vide dictam ultimam iuncturam.

9 que inter se : inter que, AD. — 10 gravor *omm*. AD.

2 1 Secunda iunctura, C.

2 sunt ipsi in. A.

3 ultimo, AD.

5 ipse met, C.

3 1. Tercia iunctura est infinitivi cum alio priori verbo finiti modi, in eadem clausula orationis immediate precedente. Pro qua datur communis regula. 2. Quando duo verba sine coniunctione mediante in eadem clausula veniunt, ultimum debet esse infinitivi modi, ut : *volo legere; scio scribere*; ymmo et sic quandoque ex uno verbo finito sequuntur tres vel quatuor infinitivi, ut : *audivi te venisse, postea recessisse, dixisse quid*, etc. 3. Et quia non sic possunt quaecumque verba immediate concurrere (istis enim verbis “comedo, sto, dormio” et huiusmodi non posset infinitivus addi), ideo debes ad vulgare ydeoma et significationem terminorum considerare ad sciendum que sic immediate possint sibi coniungi et que non. 4. Ex quo vides verba habere triplicem differentiam in ordine ad infinitivum. Quedam enim sunt quibus addi non potest infinitivus, ut *dormio, quiesco, sto, bibo, comedo* et huiusmodi; quedam quibus addi non potest infinitivus nisi immediate, id est sine accusativo mediante, ut *possum, incipio, desino* et alia prius nominata in prima regula. Et quedam sunt quibus additur infinitivus cum accusativo sibi supponente, ut : *dico te scribere*. Que omnia satis deprehendes per tuum Theutonicum.

5. Quarta est infinitivi cum adiectivis potentiam, ydoneitatem, impotentiam vel ineptitudinem aliquam agendi importantibus, ut : *piger currere; habilis stare*, de quo prius satis dixi in ultima iunctura nominum adiectivorum.

4 1. Quinta est infinitivorum cum omnibus casibus quos sua verba in aliis modis regebant a parte post, ut : *emo equum tanti; volo equum emere tanti*. Et sic generaliter inducere potes in omnibus iuncturis superioribus.

2. Sexta est infinitivorum personalium copulative sumptorum cum tali casu post se, qualem habent ante se, dum scilicet tales casus ad idem pertineant proportionabiliter iuxta primam iuncturam verbi substantivi ubi dictum est, quod omne verbum personale potest post se copulative regere nominativum. 3. De infinitivis autem dicitur generalius quod ipsi talem habent casum post se, qualem habent ante se. Et hoc quando tales infinitivi tenentur copulative, ita quod casus sequens ad idem pertineat cum precedenti. 4. Exemplum de nominativo : *volo iacere supinus*; de genitivo, ut : *illud est capucium Petri*

3 2 mediante : media, D. — dixisse que, D.

5 Quarta iunctura infinitivum, C.

4 1 Quinta iunctura, C. — omnibus suis casibus, C.

2 Sexta iunctura, C.

volentis iacere supini; de dativo, ut : *dedi Petro volenti iacere supino*; de accusativo, ut : *vidi Petrum volentem iacere supinum*; de ablativo, ut : *a Petro volente iacere supino*. 5. Quod etiam deduci posset in isto infinitivo “esse”, ut : *volentis esse boni*; *volenti esse bono*; *volentem esse bonum*.

XVI

Capitulum decimum sextum

De iuncturis participiorum. LIBER SEXTUS

1 1. Gaudere nunc incipies, Gerarde, cum pars maxima voluminis huius expedita sit in quinque libris precedentibus, et preter ea que in hoc continebuntur, nisi paululum quiddam restabit in septimo conscribendum. 2. Cum in hoc libro participiorum, gerundiorum et supinorum sint expediende iuncture, que participiorum sunt, primum absolventur. 3. Sunt autem due iuncture participiorum.

2 1. Prima iunctura est participiorum cum omnibus aliis casibus, quos sua verba, a quibus descendunt, regebant a parte post, ut : *amans vinum*; *dans tibi panem*; *percutiens Gerardum*; *lesus manum*. Et hoc generaliter inducere posses in omnibus iuncturis prioribus. 2. Scias tamen quod a verbo communi descendunt quatuor participia, quorum duo retinent activam significationem et duo alia passivam, et secundum hoc etiam debent sue iuncture dividi. Nam praesens et futurum in -rus sunt pro activa significatione, preteritum et futurum in -dus sunt pro passiva.

3 1. Secunda est participiorum copulative acceptorum, cum tali casu post se, qualem habent ante se, ita scilicet quod casus sequens ad idem pertineat cum precedenti, ut : *homo iacens supinus*; *homini iacenti supino*; *homini incedenti soli*; *hominem incedentem solum*; *ab homine incedente solo*. 2. Et hoc maxime in hoc participio “existens”, quod precipue habet vim copulandi; sed ex consequenti invenies istud regimen servari proportionabiliter iuxta quartam iuncturam infinitivorum. 3. Debes tamen excipere vocativum casum, qui copulari non potest. Ideo, si precedat vocativus, ymmo etsi ipsum participium sit vocativi

XVI Liber sextus incipit. Ca. primum, D.

1 1 Gerarde *om.* C.

2 2 *In fine add.* C : quamvis preteritum activum interdum significationem etiam habeat et regimen.

3 1 Secunda iunctura, C.

casus, tamen casus copulatus erit nominativus, ut : *Gerarde ordinande clericus*, non *clerice*; *homo future mihi amicus*, non *amice*, quia repugnat proprietati vocativi sic copulari.

XVII

Capitulum decimum septimum
De Gerundiis

1 1. Sex iuncturis gerundiorum premitto quatuor regulas.

2. Prima regula est : a personalibus verbis omnium generum, scilicet activi, passivi, neutri, communis et deponentalis nascuntur ista tria gerundia, scilicet in -di, -do, -dum. 3. Secunda regula est : huiusmodi gerundia principalem significationem et genus verbi observant, sed in modis specialibus differunt. Cum enim dico *legendi*, -do, -dum, semper significo lectionem et ideo vocantur gerundia a gerendo, id est gerenda, quasi significationem sui verbi importantia sive gerentia. 4. Scias autem quod differunt in modis specialibus, quia designant rem sui verbi in proprietate genitivi casus, si in -di terminentur. Ideo uniuntur substantivis nominibus ad modum genitivi, ut sicut dicitur *locus studii*, ita dicitur *locus studendi*. 5. Secundum autem gerundium, in -do scilicet, habet modum ablativi; ideo sepe sibi additur prepositio “in”, ut : *proficio in legendo*. Et si ponatur sine prepositione, tunc habet modum ablativi positi absolute, qui quandoque significat concomitantiam, et tunc exponitur per “si”; quando significat causam, tunc exponitur per “quia”, ut : *ludendo sum letus*, id est : *quia ludo* vel *si* vel *quando ludo*, sicut superius dixi de expositione ablativorum absolutorum in decima nona regula generali. 6. Tercium autem gerundium, scilicet in -dum, habet modum accusativi. Ideo sibi preponitur prepositio “ad” vel “inter”, ut : *venio ad ludendum*; *inter loquendum*. Cum autem sic ponitur cum “inter”, tunc equivallet secundo gerundio, ut : *lesus sum inter ludendum*, id est : *in ludendo*.

2 1. Tercia regula : ab impersonalibus etiam nascuntur gerundia tria, scilicet -di, -do, -dum, sicut dictum est de personalibus. 2. Primo quidem cum dicitur *venio causa legendi*, potest intelligi personaliter ut sit sensus : *venio ut legam*; vel impersonaliter, et tunc sensus est

XVII Cap. secundum, D.

1 5 significat causam tunc : significat (B : si!) causative, BC.

2 1 regula est, C.

venio causa legendi ut ab aliquo vel aliquibus legatur. Item : *tempus est comedendi* si teneatur impersonaliter, sensus est *ut ab aliquo vel aliquibus comedatur.* 3. Similiter de gerundio in -do, ut : *Plato sedet legendo.* Si teneatur impersonaliter, sensus erit *ut ab aliquo vel aliquibus legatur*; si autem teneatur personaliter, sensus est : *Plato sedet dum ipse legit.* Et sic invenitur gerundium in -do impersonaliter positum a Lucano : *Audendo manus tegitur*, id est : *dum ab aliquo vel aliquibus audetur.* 4. De gerundio in -dum est etiam manifestum per infinita exempla, ut : *legendum est*; *amandum est*, ubi “legendum” et “amandum” sunt gerundia impersonalia et subintelligitur “ab aliquo” vel “aliquibus”, more passivi impersonalis. 5. Et regitur talis ablativus aut loco sui dativus ab ipso gerundio impersonali, sed supponit tam gerundio quam verbo impersonali precedenti, scilicet “est”, iuxta dicta prius in octava iunctura impersonalium iuxta finem.

6. Quarta regula : activi verbi et passivi semper sunt gerundia eadem, genere tamen et significatione passivi et activi differentia. 7. Cum enim dico : *venio causa amandi*, si sit gerundium activum, sensus est *ut amem*; si passivum, sensus est *ut amer.* Similiter *gaudeo amando*, id est, *dum amo* vel *amor.* Item *vado ad amandum*, id est *ut amem* vel *ut amer.* 8. Et generaliter gerundia sunt significationi sui verbi proportionata, sicut alii modi proportionantur significationi sui verbi. 9. Scias tamen quod a regula ista sunt excipienda gerundia huius verbi “facio”, scilicet “faciendi, -do, -dum”, que non possunt habere significationem passivam, sed pro passivis gerundiis sumuntur ista “fiendi, -do, -dum”. Sicque prius dictum est quod hoc verbum “fio” est passivum istius verbi “facio”.

3 1. Prima iunctura est gerundiorum tam personalium quam impersonalium cum eodem casu ante se ut cum supposito, cum quo infinitivi verborum, a quibus nata sunt, iungebantur. 2. Ex quo sequuntur tria, quorum primum est quod omnia impersonalia passive vocis ante se iungi possunt ablativis cum prepositione “a” vel “ab”, aut dativis loco ablativorum, sicut videre potes exemplificatum in tertia regula nuper posita. Etiam visum est prius quod talibus casibus iungitur infinitivus impersonalis passive vocis. 3. Sequitur secundo quod gerundia impersonalia active vocis iunguntur a parte ante quandoque dativis, quandoque accusativis iuxta exigentiam suorum verborum, ut : *venio causa mihi placendi legere*; *tu ludis mihi placendo legere*, id

est, *dum mihi placet* impersonaliter. Etiam sic: *causa me penitendi huius rei*; *me penitendo huius rei*; *ad me penitendum huius rei*, omnino sicut prius de infinitivo. Iste tamen modus de impersonalibus vocis active non est multum usitatus. 4. Sequitur tertio quod sicut infinitivi personales, quandoque adiunguntur verbo priori immediate, id est sine accusativo supponente, ut: *volo legere*; quandoque autem cum tali accusativo, ut: *volo te legere* pro infinitivo activo, et *volo te amari* pro infinitivo passivo. 5. Ita etiam gerundia personalia quandoque ponuntur sine accusativo precedente, ut: *venio causa legendi*; *proficio legendo*; *vado ad legendum*; quandoque cum accusativo precedente tam in significatione activa quam passiva, ut: *venio causa Socratem legendi*, id est: *ut Socrates legat*; *venio causa Petrum amandi*, id est: *ut Petrus amet* vel *ametur*, prout active vel passive exponi potest, ut prius dixi. 6. Similiter dicitur: *proficio Petrum currendo*, id est: *dum Petrus currat*; *lego Petrum amando*, id est: *dum Petrus amet* vel *ametur*. Sic dictum est in *deficiendo ex me spiritum meum*, id est: *dum spiritus meus deficeret*. 7. Sic Virgilius in secundo Eneydum: *Fando aliquid si forte tuas pervenit ad aures*, ubi sensus est “aliquid fando”, capiendi li “fando” passive, id est: “dum aliquid fatur sive dicitur”, quia olim hoc verbum “for” erat commune. 8. Unde in isto modo dici debuit: *In convertendo dominum captivitatem Syon*, id est: *dum dominus converteret*, sed dictum est “dominus” in nominativo causa ambiguitatis tollende. 9. Id etiam invenitur de gerundio terminato in -dum, ut in libro Elencorum *respondentem dicendum est sic*, id est: *respondens sic dicere debet*. Verbi accusativus “respondentem” regitur a gerundio “dicendum” a parte ante. Et similiter in ista: *respondentem ponendum est terminos*. 10. Nec potest dici quod talis accusativus regitur a verbo impersonali “est”, quia hoc totum “ponendum est” capitur pro verbo non impersonali passive vocis, ut notum est, quia sic haberet pro supposito dativum vel ablativum cum prepositione, ut prius dixi in prima iunctura impersonalium. Et sic diceretur *alicui* vel *ab aliquo ponendum est terminos respondenti* vel *a respondente*. Dic ergo quod talis accusativus regitur a gerundio; talis tamen modus sic ponendi accusativum non est usitatus, nisi in gerundio in -dum.

3 4 volo de legere, B. 7 Eneydos, BC. 9 Verbi: ubi, D.

10 verbo impersonali non, C. — ab om. C. — in -do, AD.

XVII 3 7 Verg., *Aen.* II 81.

3 8 *Psalm.* CXXV 1.

3 9 Arist., *De Soph. Elench.* I 17.175 b 13-14.

4 1. Secunda iunctura est omnium gerundiorum cum omnibus illis casibus a parte post, quibus infinitivi suorum verborum, a quibus nata sunt, iungebantur. Que iunctura multum generalis est eo quod talis infinitivus quandoque est personalis, quandoque impersonalis, quandoque vocis active, quandoque passive, ad que omnia est considerandum. 2. Volo autem specialiter exemplificare de casu copulationis iuxta ultimam iuncturam infinitivorum, eo videlicet quod gerundia habeant talem casum post se, qualem habent ante se, si ad idem duo illi casus pertineant, ut: *ego canto iacendo supinus*; *misereor Gerhardi cantantis iacendo supini*; *Parco Socrati cantanti iacendo supino*. 3. Et idem est in gerundio in -di, ut: *misereor Petri petentis arma causa essendi militis*; *parco Gerhardo studenti causa essendi clerico*; *video Iohannem studentem causa essendi sapientem*; *Plato studet causa essendi sapiens*. 4. Et sic potes in aliis exemplificare et inducere in omnibus iuncturis supra positis.

5 1. Tercia est gerundii in -di cum generalibus nominum causarum aut rerum ad causas pertinentium, ut sunt locus, tempus, instrumenta, ut: *locus est ludendi*; *tempus est cenandi*; *oculus est instrumentum videndi*; *febris est causa moriendi*, et sic de aliis, in quibus posset loco talis gerundii poni genitivus, ut: *febris est causa moriendi vel mortis*; *locus ludendi vel ludi*. 2. Scias autem quod dixi notanter generalibus, quia si caperetur causa vel instrumentum speciali nomine, non videretur proprie addi gerundium; ut non proprie dicitur *oculus videndi*, *securis secandi*, quamvis tamen improprie dictum sit: *Qui habet aures audiendi audiat*. 3. Loco autem gerundii sepe ponitur infinitivus, ut: *Nescis quia potestatem habeo crucifigere te et dimittere te*. De quo dixi prius in tertia infinitivi iunctura. 4. Invenies etiam isto modo poni gerundium tam personale quam impersonale. Personale quidem, ut: *lego causa proficiendi*; *habeo instrumenta fabricandi*, scilicet in quibus actus gerundii pertinet ad idem cum actu verbi precedentis. 5. Impersonale autem, ut in istis: *lectio est causa proficiendi*; *oculus est instrumentum videndi*; *talis est modus agendi*, in quibus subintelligitur “ab aliquo” vel “ab aliquibus”, ut prius dixi.

4 1 impersonalis est, C.

2 habeant: habent, C.

3 sapientem, Iohannem studentem causa essendi clericum, C.

5 1 Tercia iunctura, C.

2 causa *omm*. AD. — non videtur, C. — securus secandi, C.

5 vel aliquibus, B.

6 1. Quarta est gerundiorum in -do cum prepositione “in”, ut : *in legendo, in scribendo*, et quandoque cum adiectivis secunde iuncture infinitivorum, ut : *fortis pugnando, piger currendo*. 2. Et quandoque ponitur ad modum ablativi absolute positi, ut : *sedendo studeo*.

3. Quinta est gerundiorum in -dum cum quibusdam prepositionibus accusativo casui deservientibus, ut *ante, ad, per, inter*, et huiusmodi, ut : *vado ad studendum; venio propter pugnandum; inter agendum*; ut Virgilius in Bucolicis : *Inter agendum occurrere capro, cornu ferit ille caveto*. Idem Virgilius in Georgicis : *Ante domandum ingentes tollunt animos*.

7 1. Sexta est gerundii in -dum cum isto verbo impersonali “est”, ut : *legendum est*, scilicet “mihi” vel “a me”. Talis enim dativus vel ablativus regitur ab ipso gerundio impersonaliter posito, sicut nuper dixi in principio prime iuncture. Supponit tamen tam verbo impersonali “est”, quam ipsi gerundio, ut prius satis dixi. 2. Scias tamen quod tale gerundium in -dum quandoque iungitur huic impersonali “est”, et significat actum verbi cum quadam significatione dignitatis, ut : *legendum est*, id est : *dignum legi vel ut legatur*; et sic est gerundium impersonale, ut nunc dixi. 3. Quandoque autem importat rem sui verbi cum quadam denotatione futuritatis, ut si dicam : *adhuc legendum est mihi* vel *a me per annum*, id est : *adhuc legam annum*. In quo sensu dicit Lucanus : *Pavido fortique cadendum est*, id est : *pavidus et fortis cadent*, et sic est participium futuri temporis descendens a verbo impersonali, cuius naturam multi ignorant, et de quo aliquantulum in ultima regula prius preambula tactum est. 4. Ponitur autem sepe tale participium futurum impersonale in circumlocutione futuri infinitivi personalis, ut : *verum est lectum iri vel legendum esse*: Et hanc etiam circumlocutionem per tale participium futuri temporis pauci cognoverunt. 5. Nec sic invenitur solum participium impersonale futurum in -dum, sed etiam unum preteritum in -tum vel in -sum, ut *lectum, visum*. Et sunt talia participia substantiva non egentia substantivo sicut nec sua verba egent nisi solo supposito. 6. Et sic

6 1 Quarta iunctura, C.

3 Quinta iunctura, C.

7 1 Sexta iunctura, C.

3 id est adhuc legam annum om. C.

5 sicut nec sua verba : sicut sua verba non, C.

6 3 Verg., *Ecl.* IX 24-25; Georg. III 206.

7 3 Lucan. IX 583.

ista sapiunt naturam sui verbi impersonalis, quod regere potest dativum vel ablativum, sicut sua impersonalia, ut : *viso quid sit genus*, subintelligitur *ab aliquo* vel *ab aliquibus*; *videndum est de specie*; *et a nobis videndo de specie prius de genere videatur*.

XVIII

Capitulum decimum octavum

De supinorum iuncturis

1 1. Supinorum quatuor iuncture ponentur, quibus hec regula premititur. Verborum omnium generum, tam personalium quam impersonalium sunt duo supina, scilicet in -um et in -u, in activo et in passivo eadem manentia, a parte post observantia verborum suorum iuncturas, in modis specialibus ab invicem differentia. 2. Scias quod in principio dixi “verborum”, sine distributione; non enim dixi “omnium verborum”, quia multa verba carent supinis, ut presuppono declaratum in capitulo de preteritis et supinis verborum in prima parte. 3. Quomodo autem in omnibus generibus inveniantur, potest faciliter induci. Tercio quomodo inveniantur supina in impersonalibus : dicit Pristianus ista inveniri : “misertum, pertesum, placitum, puditum, licitum”. 4. Quandoque autem, sed raro inveniuntur in aliis verbis impersonalibus active vocis, sed in impersonalibus passive vocis faciliter inveniuntur. Sicut enim personaliter dicitur : *vado lectum*, ita impersonaliter : *Itur lectum*; *reditur lectum*; ita quod utrumque tam verbum quam supinum teneantur impersonaliter, et subintelligitur “aliquo” vel “aliquibus”. 5. Sunt quarto eadem in activo et passivo, sicut dictum est de gerundiis. Et ista “vado amatum” habet duplicem sensum, scilicet *vado ut amem* vel *ut amer*. Et proportionabiliter ista *venio lectu*, quod notari debet propter regimen, quod secundum hoc variatur, ut notum est, eo quod servant post se iuncturas suorum verborum, et sic in sensu activo dicitur *vado amatum Johannem*; in

6 potest : possunt, BC.

XVIII Ca tertium, D. *Titulus in C* : De supinis.

1 3 inveniat, C. — facile, C.

4 “ab aliquo”, C.

5 vadam, C. (*his*).

XVIII **1** 3 Prisc., *Instit. Gramm.* XVIII 54 (misertum, pertesum); XVII 91 (placitum), VIII 62 (puditum), XI 20 (licitum).

passivo autem *vado amatum a Johanne*; *venio amatu Johannem* vel *a Johanne*. 6. Quomodo autem servantur iuncture omnes suorum verborum a parte post, posset ad longum induci. Sicut enim dicitur *emi domum tribus solidis*, ita *vado emptum* vel *venio emptu domum tribus solidis*. Item de casu copulationis, ut : *ego vado ambulatum solus*; *isti vadunt lusum leti*, et sic de aliis. 7. Ultimo autem differunt ista supina in modis specialibus : primum enim supinum videtur equivalere gerundio in -dum cum prepositione “ad”; ut “lectum” sit idem quod “ad legendum”, “venatum” quod “ad venandum”. Sicut enim dicitur *vado lectum*, ita *vado ad legendum*. 8. Primum supinum proprie habet modum accusativi cum ista prepositione “ad”, quam includit que sibi addi non potest. Non enim potest dici *vado ad lectum*, sed *vado lectum*, et sic de aliis. 9. Ipsum enim supinum sufficienter includit in se prepositionem “ad” ut ad transitum pertinet. Si autem acciperetur prepositio “ad” ut ad quandam aptationem pertinet, sicut solet dici *bonus ad legendum*, tunc non includeretur in primo supino. Ideo non potest dici *tu es bonus lectum*, quamvis dicatur *bonus ad legendum*, quia primum supinum non includit talem prepositionem “ad”, nisi secundum quod ad transitum vel motum pertinet. 10. Secundum autem supinum habet modum ablativi, sed quia de suo modo significandi denotat recessum, ideo in se includit cum actu verbi prepositionem “a” vel “ab” ad recessum pertinentem, ut : *venio lectu*, id est *recedo ab actu legendi*.

2 1. Prima iunctura supinorum est cum verbis motionis. Primi quidem supini in modum termini ad quem acceditur, secundi autem in modum termini a quo receditur, ut : *vado lectum*; *venio lusu* aut *lusu vado lectum*, ponendo hoc verbum “vado” inter duo supina, quasi inter duos terminos motus, quasi diceretur : *Colonia vado Traiectum*. De quo prius aliquid in secunda et in quarta regulis adverbiorum. 2. Scias tamen quod quamvis ista supina sic iungantur verbis motivis, proprie tamen non respondent ad questionem locorum; ut si queratur : *quo vadis?* ibi non proprie respondetur *vado lectum*, quia “quo” non querebat de actu, sed de loco. 3. Ideoque de tali actu et loco potest simul responderi, ut : *quo vadis? Vado Romam iterum crucifigi*; *vado*

7 venatum idem quod, D.

2 2 respondent : respondetur, C; respondentur, D.

2 3 *Acta Sanctorum*, M. Julii I, 270.2 : Quo vadis? Vado Romam, iterum crucifigi.

Romam lectu. Fit autem istud magis manifestum addendo relationem. Cum enim relative dico: *Ego vado quo tu vadis, Romam scilicet*, non “te ire lectum” significo, sed tantum quod tu vadas Romam. Sic ergo non proprie respondetur tale supinum ad quesitivum loci. 4. Respondetur tamen sepe, licet improprie, eo quod connotat quendam transitum, non quidem ad locum, sed ad actum aliquem. Et proportionabiliter dic de secundo supino in ordine ad quesitivum “unde?”. 5. Adverte autem quod non tantum additur hoc primum supinum verbis realis motionis, sed etiam quibusdam verbis importantibus motum sive transitum mentalem, ut: *dedi tibi hunc librum lectum*, id est: *ad legendum*. 6. Et sic dicit Therentius: *Dedi illi filiam meam nuptum*, id est: *ad nubendum*. Et Lucanus: *Tua tradita venum castra vides*, id est: *ad vendendum*. 7. Et sic de multis aliis responde, sicut dicit Therentius: *Curabo tibi tuum Pamphilum inventum et adductum*, id est: *invenire et adducere*.

3 1. Secunda est primi supini cum isto infinitivo “ire” vel “iri” pro suppletionem futuri infinitivi personalis vel impersonalis. In latinitate enim non additur futurum infinitivi fore; quod licet quandoque capiatur in presenti proprie, tamen est futuri temporis. Et sic capitur a Virgilio: *Sic fore ductores revocato a sanguine Teucri*, id est: *futuros esse*. 2. Suppletio ergo talis infinitivi futuri fit in activa voce per primum supinum cum infinitivo “ire” vel per participium terminatum in -rum cum isto infinitivo “esse”, ut *amatum ire* vel *amaturum esse*. 3. In voce autem passiva fit per primum supinum cum isto infinitivo “iri”, vel per participium futurum terminatum in -dum cum isto infinitivo “esse”, ut *lectum iri* vel *legendum esse*, quod potest tam personaliter capi quam impersonaliter. 4. Scias quod in dictis circumlocutionibus *lecturum esse*, *legendum esse*, si “lecturum” vel “legendum” capiantur in significatione ut participia sunt, tunc recipiunt variationem per genera, numeros et casus, sicut adiectiva, ut: *verum est hunc lecturum* vel *legendum esse*; *hanc amaturam* vel *amandam esse*; *hos lecturos* vel *legendos esse*. 5. Sed si capiantur non quidem in significatione participiorum, sed ut circumloquuntur tale futurum infinitivi,

3 vadas : vadis, C.

3 1 Secunda iunctura, C. — Teucri : teneri, C.

4 capientur, AD. — adiectiva : activa, BC.

2 6 Ter., *Andria* 752; Lucan. IV 206.

2 7 Ter., *Andria* 684. 3 1 Verg., *Aen.* I 235.

quo caret latinitas, ita quod pro tali simplici verbo sumantur, sic manere possunt cum substantivis et suppositis variorum generum vel numerorum. Et hoc modo dicitur: *verum est libros Virgilii a me legendum esse*, id est: *debere legi*; vel *verum est multa mala venturum esse*, id est: *debere evenire*. 6. Unde et A. Gellius refert Liberium antiquum poetam scripsisse: *non putavit hoc eam facturum esse*, reprehendens imperitos correctores, qui pro “facturum” scribunt “facturam”. Allegat etiam hoc modo scripsisse Quadrigarium vetustissimum poetam in principio suorum Annalium: *Si tamen pro tua bonitate et nostra voluntate validudo suppetit, est quod speremus deos bonis benefacturum esse*; et eius generis multa adducit idem A. Gellius. 7. Ad hunc modum latinitatis quodammodo potes dicere de alio modo circumlocutionis, scilicet de istis “lectum ire” vel “lectum iri”. Prima enim circumlocutio, scilicet “lectum ire”, potest capi duobus modis. Uno modo: *verum est me lectum ire*, id est: *quod eo lectum*; et sic non potuit hoc adverbium “cras” addi, dicendo *verum est me lectum ire cras*. Et sic etiam tenentur dicte due partes significative. 8. Alio modo pro ut capitur loco futuri infinitivi, per tales voces intellecti, et sic est sensus: *verum est me lectum ire*, id est: *quod ego legam*. Et sic potest addi adverbium futuri temporis, scilicet “cras”, ut *verum est me lectum ire cras*. 9. Similiter de ista: *verum est a me amatum iri*, que etiam duobus modis capi potest. Uno modo pro ut li “iri” est infinitivus impersonalis. Et sic est sensus: *verum est quod a me itur amatum*. 10. Secundo modo pro suppletionem talis futuri in latino deficientis, et sic est sensus: *verum est quod a me amabitur*. Et in isto sensu hoc adverbium “cras” addi potuit, ut: *verum est me amatum iri cras*, id est: *ego amabor cras*.

4 1. Tercia iunctura est ultimi supini cum adiectivis ultime iuncture adiectivorum, ut: *mirabile dictu*; *difficile creditu*; *novum auditu*; *utile memoratu*, in quibus “creditu” et alia capiuntur pro ultimo supino, non pro nominibus verbalibus quarte declinationis ablativi casus, quia eis non potest addi adiectivum sui determinativum. 2. Dicitur enim *claro nobilis ortu*, ubi ille ablativus “ortu” determinatur ab hoc adiectivo “claro”; ideo dicitur esse nomen substantivum. Sic autem non possunt in proposito adiectiva addi predictis supinis, ut notum est.

8 sic sensus est, D.

3 6 Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Att.* I 7.12 (Laberius!) et (Allegat...) 7.9.

3. Quarta iunctura est supinorum cum casibus post se, sicut prius dixi de gerundiis in secunda iunctura gerundiorum.

XIX

Capitulum decimum nonum

De excerptione iuncturarum. LIBER SEPTIMUS

1 1. Iuvenibus volentibus ex integra orationis clausula singulas iuncturas excerpere, opus est in principio figura quadam et oculari protractu linearum, cuius statim exemplum ponam, donec talis modus sit animis eorum impressus. Ad cuius figure pervenient cognitionem per quinque divisiones et quatuor considerationes sequentes. 2. Prima divisio est: sermonum alius incomplexus est, ut: *homo*; alius complexus est qui communiter vocatur "oratio", ut: *homo currit*. 3. Secunda est: orationum alia imperfecta, que imperfectum sensum generat in auditore, ut: *homo albus*, et generaliter orationes omnes sine verbo; alia est perfecta, que perfectum sensum generat in auditore, ut: *homo currit*; et generaliter orationes cum verbo. Et tales variantur secundum quod suum verbum est aliquando personale, aliquando impersonale, aliquando indicativum, aliquando imperativum, aliquando optativum, aliquando coniunctivum. 4. Tercia divisio est: orationum perfectarum alia est simplex, in qua non est nisi unum verbum finiti modi, ut: *Socrates currit*, vel *Socrates vult currere*; alia est complexa, in qua est pluralitas verborum finiti modi ut: *Socrates currit et Plato disputat*. Et tales orationes composite quandoque continent duas partes, ut in exemplo prefato, quandoque tres partes, quatuor vel plures continent: ut: *homo, qui vult salvari et Deum diligit, cavere debet a viciis et sequi virtutes*. 5. Quarta divisio est orationum complexarum in octo species. Quia quedam composite per notam relationis (ut: *quicquid currit, habet pedes*; *Socrates currit, quem video*), quedam per notam temporis (ut: *quando magister legit, pueri proficiunt*), alie per notam loci (ut: *ubi magister legit, pueri proficiunt*), alie per notam causalitatis (ut: *quia magister legit, pueri proficiunt*), alie per notam copulationis (ut: *magister legit et pueri proficiunt*), alie per notam disiunctionis

XIX Liber septimus incipit. Ca. primum, D.

1 3 Secunda divisio, C.

5 composite sunt, C. — alia per notam loci, BC.

(ut : *magister legit vel pueri proficiunt*), alie per notam consecutionis (ut : *si magister legit, pueri proficiunt*), alie per notam adversationis (ut : *quamvis Barbara sit nigra, tamen est pulcra*), debet autem magister maxime exercitare iuvenem in cognitione istorum modorum, quia omnis difficultas in constructione librorum quasi provenit ex prolixitate talium clausularum, que sub uno istorum modorum continentur. 6. Et si iuvenis sit in istis modis bene assuefactus, talis prolixitas nullo modo impedit eum, ymo fiet ex consuetudine sibi omnino familiaris et facilis.

7. Quinta divisio orationum simplicium : Quedam vocantur nude, que non habent iuncturas nisi ad verbum a parte ante vel a parte post, ut : *Socrates currit; Johannes verberat Petrum*, et in talibus nulla erit in hoc libro periculosa difficultas. 8. Alie sunt vestite ex lateralibus iuncturis dictionum ante vel post verbum positarum, ut prius exemplificavi de ista : *equus meus est melior tuo multo*. Et tales sic vestite sunt faciles satis per dictas iuncturas. Quibus positis, sequuntur considerationes.

2 1. Prima consideratio est : si oratio, quam vis transferre in latinum vel aliud ydeoma, sit complexa, divide eam in orationes simplices, quas continet, in quo nulla erit tibi difficultas, nisi forte in complexis per notam relationis. 2. In quibus aliquando necesse erit pro relativo ponere antecedens, ut : *Socrates currit, quem tu vides*. Debet resolvi in istas : “Socrates currit” / “tu vides Socratem”, quia iste complexe habent quandoque plures partes duabus, ut tres vel quatuor, sicut prius dixi. 3. Scias quod pro ista resolutione, tu debes colligere et comprehendere clausulam sensus perfecti, sive sit brevis sive longa. Scias autem sensum esse perfectum quando ei potest responderi “verum est” vel “falsum est”.

3 1. Secunda consideratio est : presentata oratione simplici precedentem orationem si forte illa sit vestita cum lateralibus iuncturis, reduc illam ad orationem nudam capiendo verbum et suum suppositum et partes rectas a verbo a parte post. 2. Que autem sic possunt a verbo regi, scies considerando que possunt de verbo interrogari et ipsum determinare iuxta quartam regulam preambulam prius positam, in principio libri.

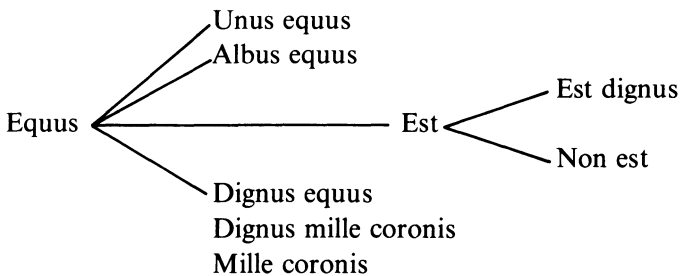
4 1. Tercia est : cognoscere oportet an aliquae partes pertineant ad

7 divisio est, C.

2 2 sicut : ut, C. — sive sit brevis sive longa om. C. — potes, C.

ipsum suppositum vel ut adiectiva vel ut partes recte ab eo. 2. Et hoc scies faciliter per quartam regulam preambulam, scilicet considerando que dictiones de eo convenienter interrogentur per “cuius”, per “cui”, per “quam”, per “a quo”, et huiusmodi. 3. Et eodem modo cogita de partibus, que iungi possunt dictionibus rectis a verbo a parte post, et que forte ulterius illis adiunguntur, donec clausulas omnes disposueris.

5 1. Quarta consideratio est : cum sic concepisti diversas iuncturas ut videas eas, acrius suppositum et appositum a se invicem longe disiunge, et inter illa protrahe lineam directam. 2. Postea quamlibet iuncturam ad suppositum designa per unam lineam specialem; et ulterius alias iuncturas per predicatum similiter per speciales lineas. Et postea, facta illa protractione linearum, expediatur quolibet linea successive, applicando eam ad doctrinas superius traditas. 3. Quod tibi facillimum erit eo quod cito in qualibet linea considerabis an sit iunctura nominis vel verbi, et sic de aliis. Et sic faciliter eius artem in hoc libello invenies. 4. Expedita autem sic una clausula, procedatur consequenter ad alias, quia de omnibus idem est iudicium. 5. Nec dubito, si iuvenis se assuefaciat in isto modo resolvendi exempla sibi proposita, quoniam inde maximum fructum consequatur, et certius fundamentum quam per quancumque aliam doctrinam. 6. Sit autem huius, quod dixi, exemplum latinum : *unus albus equus non est dignus mille coronis*. In quo latent octo iuncture, que sic in figura possunt exemplificari :



4 2 per “quem”, D.

5 3 Et faciliter sic, B.

5 quoniam : quin, D.

XX

Capitulum vicesimum

De regulis construendi

1 1. Dictarum autem variarum iuncturarum in eadem clausula existentium ordo, secundum quem expediri debent, habetur per has sex regulas, quarum prima est : Omnis clausula perfecta continet verbum sive personale sive impersonale. 2. Congruitas talis clausule semper incipit a tali verbo, sed eius constructio semper incipit a supposito eius, si suppositum habeat. 3. Scias quod dico notanter “si suppositum habeat” propter verba impersonalia, que quandoque ponuntur sine suppositis, et tunc incipit tam congruitas quam constructio a verbo impersonali; ex quo vides quod prima questio, que debet fieri iuveni est : a quo verbo incipit congruitas clausule sue?

2 1. Secunda regula contra dictam regulam. Constructio regulariter potest incipi per aliquem istorum sequentium modorum. Primo per casus absolute positos, et sunt vocativi et sepe ablativi, qui eo pre-construuntur quod partibus clausule per aliquod regimen non coherere videntur. 2. Secundo per coniunctiones vel adverbia, que videntur quodammodo per se unam clausulam facere sive continuationem clausularum inter se, ut *cum*, *quamvis*, *quia*, *donec*, *quocirca*, *ceterum*, *idcirco*, *demum*, *deinceps*, *insuper* et similes, que necessario incipiunt constructionem clausule sue. 3. Tercio per obliquos interrogativos, ut : *quem vides?* 4. Quarto per obliquos relativos, ut : *quemcumque tu vides*, *ego video*. 5. Quinto per obliquos divisos, ut : *hominum alius albus*, *alius niger*. 6. Sexto per obliquos negativos, ut : *nullum video*. 7. Septimo etiam per obliquum antecedentis ut sequens relativum habeat locum construendi, ut : *patrem sequitur sua proles*; *isti subveniat sua mater*.

3 1. Tercia est : omnes obliqui debent immediate adiungi illis dictionibus, a quibus reguntur ab eadem dictione, ut dativus et accusativus a verbo, ut : *do tibi panem*; vel a nomine adiectivo, ut : *similis tibi caput*. 2. Et tunc est generalis doctrina, quod prior obliquus precedat.

XX Ca. secundum, D. *Titulus in C* : De constructione.

2 1 sequentem, AD.

3 1 Tercia regula, C.

Est etiam hic exceptio de adiectivis, que suis substantivis immediate iungenda sunt.

3. Quarta : adverbia immediate iungi verbis debent per ea determinatis, nisi forte intersint adiectiva, de quibus est doctrina generalis quod statim iungantur substantivis.

4. Quinta regula : prepositiones cum suis casualibus debent poni super casuale, eo quod quodammodo cum suo casuali videntur clausulam per se facere, cum per nullum regimen precedentibus dictionibus adiungantur.

5. Sexta regula : adverbia vocandi more vocativorum, et interiectiones exclamative more ablativorum absolutorum per se aut cum suis casualibus videntur per se clausulam facere. Ideo in principio clausule expediuntur. Et sic sepe sunt orationum principia. Apud Therentium : *Proch deum atque hominum fidem; O tempora, o mores*; et huiusmodi.

6. Si autem aliqua extra has sex regulas in quibusdam specialibus locis inveniantur, quoniam illa non pertinent ad usum communem, volumus excusari, si illa omiserimus.

XXI

Capitulum vicesimum primum

De modo clausulas punctuandi

1 1. Postremo pro modo punctuandi sive distinguendi totalem clausulam in suas partes, que distinctiones appellantur, hec pauca notavi satis utilia pro intellectione difficilium latinorum, quemadmodum in libris antiquorum oratorum inveniuntur; qui per punctuationem sive distinctionem intelligi facilius et construi poterant. 2. Nota ergo quod triplex est punctus distinctionis, scilicet coma, cola et periodus, que differunt ex modo protractionis et per particulas orationis, quibus addi possunt. 3. In protractione sive caractere sic differunt, quia coma est punctus cum parva cauda sive virgula sursum ducta ut hic “.”. Sed cola est punctus rotundus sine virgula ut hic “.”. Periodus

2 hic *om.* C.

3 Quarta regula, C.

5 absolutorum *om.* C. casualibus que, C.

6 sex : tres, C.

XXI Ca. tercium, D. *Titulus in C* : de pausis.

1 1 distinctiones : subdistinctiones, C.

XX 3 5 Ter., Andria 237; Cic., *Cat.* I 2 : O tempora, o mores!

autem est punctus cum virgula deorsum ducta ut hic “;”. 4. Quibus etiam figuris aliquantulum proportionari debet figura vocis lectoris vel prolatoris, scilicet ut aliquantulum aliquando eleuet vocem quasi aliquid ulterius expectans, aliquando eam in statu sustineat, aliquando ad modum conclusionis deprimat. 5. Unde dicta puncta secundo modo sic differunt, quia coma ponitur quando constructio nullo modo perfecta esse potest, sed est omnino suspensiva quo ad sensum, quamvis non quo ad regimen, ut ista: *quamvis sit nigra*. 6. Cola autem ponitur quando constructio est perfecta et etiam sensus, tamen aliquid sibi adhuc additur, ut hic: *Quamvis sit nigra, tamen est pulchra*, si ex intentione actoris aliquid adhuc addatur. 7. Periodus autem ponitur quando oratio est perfecta et clausa, ita quod ad eius perfectionem nihil ulterius addatur ut hic: *Quamvis sit nigra, tamen est pulchra et magna commendatione digna*. Et similiter possunt dicta tua in ista oratione notari: *Si virtus sit amanda, iusticia est amanda, cum ipsa sit virtus*. 8. Ex quibus vides, quod comma nunquam solum stare potest, sed bene colum, et tunc est colum et periodus simul, ut: *Socrates est homo, Socrates est animal*. 9. Et possunt etiam quandoque poni plura commata vel cola in eadem clausula totali, ut hic: *quamvis sum nigra, et tu alba, tamen sum pulchrior te, et magis amanda*.

2 1. Hec habui pauca, que pro vere congruitatis specie tradenda putavi suffectura, videlicet non trito modo quotidianoque sermoni, sed locutionibus voluminibusque vetustissimorum poetarum et oratorum, quorum scripta dictaque omnia brevi hac doctrina comprehensa puto. 2. Quem autem forte magnitudinis libelli et longioris lectionis pigebit, hic animadvertet existimetque grammaticum esse dignum ceteris artibus firmare fundamentum. Quod quoniam ab ipsius grammaticæ officina peti oportet, ex hoc opusculo id prestitisse confido. Durandum est, et ferendus tanto pro munere labor!

Hic totius diasynthetice compendium terminatur.

4 aliquod, B.

2 1 trito: tuto, AD.

2 grammaticam, AD; grammaticum grandis esse laboris dignum, C. — confide, C.

Hic ... terminatur om. C.

APPENDICES

I. *Prologi pars prior in C* :

De multipotencia activi regiminis dictionum.

In opus exquisitissimum metro prosaque compactum ut puer, quam citissime adeptus grammaticam, consummate ad oratores poetasque reddatur idoneus, editus per doctum virum atque disertum prologus incipit.

*
* * *

1. Quantopere grammaticae perfectio cunctas ad alias sciencias adipiscendas opituletur, tam id cuique liquido patere existimatur quam absque ea nec suos quispiam alii potest congruenter conceptus edisserere, nec scriptorum ab aliis aut dictorum consummatum percipere intellectum, nec eciam ad perfectam poetarum pertingere notionem, quorum in usu et autentica imitatione grammatica olim iusque et norma loquendi consistere dicebantur. Grammaticae autem perfectio in hoc sita est ut suum quis alteri conceptum congrue eloquitur. Quod quoniam per bene latinam orationem efficitur, cuius partes secundum significandi modos in debita accidencium conformitate artificialiter uniuntur, opere precium videtur dictionum novem regimina et quonam modo dictio regens ad rectam se habeat dictionem <.....>. Activi autem dinotio regiminis multo est principalior, succinctior, utilior quam passivi.

2. Decanus Tongherensis, magister Rolandus de Rivo, qui a Thebano episcopo Grecum didicisse se asserit, oratores atque poetas tam absolute atque egregie sciisse putatur quam de activo tractans regimine eos multo scitissime atque verissime ad sue conformationem dictionis allegat. Hunc vir plurima peditus sciencia ac preclaro celebrique pollens eloquio, magister Anthonius Haneron imitatus, faciliter, ordinate, breviter, delectabiliter, utilissime de activo dictionum regimine regulas explicavit, quas ob suorum utilitatem necnon et delectacionem

Appendix I 2 *Post dictionem lacunam indicavi.*

Appendix I 2 *De Rolando (ante 1350-1403), Simone Atumano episcopo et Engelberto Leidensi vide J. IJsewijn, l.1. supra. p. 2, C.*

discipulorum vir celebris magister Engbertus Leydensis ex tempore ex prosaycis metricas effecit. Versus etenim sunt sentenciosi, breves, iocundi, ediscibiles, memorabiles. Itaque ab eis multo cupidissime lecitantur, qui in eis ab ineunte fuerunt puericia consuefacti.

3. Et quia his qui preclarus vult grammaticus evadere poeticis in versibus et potissime Virgilianis, Augustino testificante, erit consuefiendus, cum nimirum ab ineunte ferme etate versibus inbutus, audire versus ac legere delectabit. Et quia versuum sententia ubique scholarum soluta oratione exprimitur, grammatica instruendus non modo libenter avideque legitat vel audit, verum etiam prosayca oratio et propemodum Tulliana inmodicum eius generat auditui delectamen. Eapropter viri ingenio perspicaces, prestabiles sciencia, eloquencia prepollentes, Boecius, Marcianus Capella, Alanus, Bernardus Silvester quos fecere libellos metrica partim, partim etiam oratione prosayca alternantes atque vicissim melliflue exornaverunt. Uti Anneus Seneca asserit, *varietas delectat*.

4. Eapropter ut ex isto libro iuvenes ad suavem utilitatem vel utilem suavitatem veleant (*sic!*) incitari, quod iocundis versibus eisdemque utilibus primitus exprimeretur, id subsequens statim prosa latiuscule explanabit ut prose versibus lumen, et versus melleum prosis tribuant oblectamen, et quidem faciliter atque ordinate.

II. *Libelli primi caput 3 in D :*

1. ...in Theutonico, Gallico vel alio ydeomate; exemplum ut :

nto	: een	et plr. nto	: die
	le ou ung		les
Genitivo	: des	genitivo	: der
	du		des
Dativo	: den	dativo	: den
	au		aux
accusativo	: den	accusativo	: die
	le		les

I 3 August., *De Civ. Dei*, I 3 : "Apud Virgilium, quem propterea parvuli legunt ut videlicet poeta magnus omniumque praeclarissimus atque optimus teneris ebibitus annis, non facile oblivione possit aboleri...". Laudantur Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*; Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Alanus ab Insulis, *De planctu naturae* (ca. 1170/80) et Bernardus Silvestris Turonensis, *De mundi Universitate sive Megacosmus et Microcosmus* (1145-53). — Seneca : revera *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III 12.22 : "Auditem varietas maxime delectat".

vocativo :	o	vocativo :	o
	o		o
Ablativo :	van of mit	ablativo :	van of mit
	du ou avec		des ou avec

2. quomodo dicimus enim :

magister	— een meyster	magistri :	die meysters
	ung ou le maistre		les maistres
magistri	— des meysters	magistrorum :	der meysteren
	du maistre		des maistres
magistro	— den meyster	magistris :	den meysteren
	le maistre		aux maistres
magistrum :	den meyster	magistros :	die meysters
	le maistre		les maistres
o magister :	o meyster	o magistri :	o meysters
	o maistre		o maistres
a magistro :	van den meyster	a magistris :	van den meysters
	du maistre		des maistres.

4. ...pro nominativo enim interrogatur : wie — qui?

pro genitivo : wiens — du quel?

pro dativo : wyen — a qui?

pro accusativo : wyen — qui?

pro ablativo : van wyem of mit wye — de qui ou avec qui?

5. ...Teutonice vel Gallice

wie	}	regit nominativum;
qui		
wyens	}	regit genitivum;
de qui		
wien	}	regit dativum;
a qui		
wyen	}	regit accusativum;
qui		
van wyen	}	regit ablativum.
de qui		

et sic de aliis casibus in plurali numero.

Exemplum de nominativo : wie lester? }
 qui lit? } magister.

Exemplum de genitivo :	wyens is dit boeck? de qui est ce livre?	} magistri.
Exemplum de dativo :	wyen gheeft ghyt? a qui le donnez vous?	} magistro.
Exemplum de accusativo :	wyen hebdy ghesien? qui avez vous veu?	} magistrum.
Exemplum de ablativo :	van wyen hebdy dat? de qui avez vous cela?	} a magistro.

J. R. BERRIGAN

LEONARDO DATI: *HIENSAL TRAGOEDIA*
A CRITICAL EDITION WITH TRANSLATION

The last of the four Latin tragedies of the early Italian Renaissance and the only one not yet published is the *Hiensal* of Leonardo Dati¹. Please allow me to say just a little about the author and his drama before taking up my principal topic — why Dati wrote it. A native of Florence, Dati was living in his home city in the early 1440's, since Eugenius IV and the entire papal court, to which Dati was attached, were there rather than in Rome. At the time of the *Hiensal*'s composition, he was in his early thirties, since he had been born in 1408. He would have a distinguished ecclesiastical career over the following thirty years². Eventually named the Bishop of Massa, he would serve as papal secretary to Callixtus III, Pius II, Paul II, and Sixtus IV. For this sort of career, his reputation as a notable Latinist would be an invaluable prop. His one contribution to the genre revived by Mussato is his *Hiensal*. It is a simple, stark tale, drawn from Sallust's *Jugurthine War*³. On his death, Massinissa, the king of Numidia, leaves his kingdom to his sons, Adherbal and Hiensal, and to his valiant kinsman, Jugurtha. Hiensal resents his father's decision, despises Jugurtha as a base-born intruder, and envies him for his valor and fame. Upon

¹ On the Latin tragedies of the early Italian Renaissance see my articles: "Early Neo-Latin Tragedy in Italy", in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis* (Louvain and Munich, 1973), pp. 85-93; "Latin Tragedy of the Quattrocento", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 22 (1973), 1-9. For the Cinquecento see F. Doglio, "Il teatro in Latino nel Cinquecento", in *Atti del Convegno sul tema: Il teatro classico Italiano nel '500* (Rome, 1971), pp. 163-196.

² On Leonardo di Piero Dati see: *Leonardi Dathi canonici Florentini epistolae XXXIII*, per cura di L. Mehus (Florence, 1734); F. Flamini, "Leonardo di Piero Dati", *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 16 (1890), 1-107; Id., "Ancora dell' *Hiempsal* e del Dati", *ibid.*, 22 (1893), 415-417; A. Della Torre, *Storia dell' Accademia Platonica di Firenze* (Florence, 1902); V. Cian, *La Satira*, 2 vols., (Milan, 1945), II, 427, 435; Mariangela Regoliosi, in *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, XII (1969), 191 n. 7.

³ C. Sallusti Crispi *Catilina, Jugurtha, Fragmenta ampliora*. Ed. A. Kurfess. Fourth unchanged reprint of the 3d ed. of 1957 (Leipzig, 1972).

being insulted by Hiensal, Jugurtha determines to have his vengeance. His men break into Hiensal's palace at night and slay him. This tragedy differs from all of its predecessors by incorporating into itself two scenes in which allegorical figures appear. The opening of the play finds Ambition and Modesty discussing the violent nature of Envy, who is constantly pursuing her mother Ambition. The penultimate scene presents another allegorical tableau, which Envy's daughter Discord discusses the mayhem she has caused along with her assistant Perfidy. I feel that these two allegorical scenes are due to the special character of the *Hiensal*, i.e., its relationship to the *certame coronario* of 1442, the one that never took place.

The Latin text that follows is based upon an examination of the four known codices of the *Hiensal*. The most significant manuscript is that of the Chigi collection of the Vatican, MS Chis. I.V.194⁴. It is an elegant work of the Quattrocento and bears a note on the fly-leaf in the hand of Pope Alexander VI, the former Cardinal Chigi. This note confirms that the manuscript had belonged to Leonardo Dati himself; it bears his own autograph notations⁵. We are entitled, then, to attribute particular importance to its readings. At the other end of the MS spectrum is the Riccardiana manuscript from Florence, MS Ricc. 1207, which is, to all appearances, a hastily and inaccurately transcribed version of the *Hiensal*. Its variants are at times simply ludicrous⁶. Somewhere between these extremes are the two Paris manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS Latin 8362 and 8363. The former in both its script and contents seems the earlier. It adds the designation "presbiteri" to Dati's name in the title of the work and contains several variants, particularly the substitution of "strage" for "lue" on three occasions. The scribe also alters some instances of Dati's run-on verse, e.g., lines 191-192, 211-212. These changes certainly do not improve the text, since they spoil the meter several times.

⁴ Cf. P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, 483. The manuscript (membran., saec. XV; 43 ff.) contains also minor works of Dati. The *Hiempsal* covers ff. 1-19^v. In the margin the different meters of the verses are indicated.

⁵ I owe this information to Professor Chauncey E. Finch of Saint Louis University and Professor M. Miglio of the Istituto Storico Italiano, communicated to me by Professor J. IJsewijn.

⁶ Cf. S. Morpurgo, *I manoscritti della R. biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze. Manoscritti Italiani*. Vol. I, fasc. 1-9 (Rome, 1893-1900), pp. 275-277. The manuscript (Chartac., saec. XV) contains mainly poems by Dati and a work of Andreas Contrarius against the Turks. The tragedy covers ff. 13^r-30^r.

In the second Paris manuscript all the names of the actors have been made to conform with a mature Renaissance orthography; hence, *Hiensal* becomes *Hyempsal*, *Iugurta* *Jugurtha*. Other evidence for the late origin of this manuscript is the designation of the author as Bishop of Massa. The relationship of this manuscript to the others is crucial because it is the only one to bear a date, MCDXL. I feel that the authenticity of this date is called into question by the lateness of the manuscript, but there is a further reason to doubt its word: like the other three manuscripts it includes the crucial words, “*ipsa de qua secundo in coronario disceptaturi sumus invidia*”. The first *certame* would not be held until the fall of 1441; there would simply be no way in which Dati could see into the future and glimpse a second contest on envy. I take the date as an attempt to afford credibility to the manuscript in the same way that the designation of Dati as Bishop strives to impress the reader. Its readings are not as faulty as those of the Riccardiana but they are inferior both to the Chigi and the earlier Paris manuscript.

The background to the composition of the *Hiensal* is provided by the *certame coronario* of 1441⁷. This poetic contest had been organized by Leon Battista Alberti with the financial support of Cosimo de' Medici. Alberti's hope had been to demonstrate the vitality and nobility of the Tuscan vernacular. To this end he proposed that the poets recite their compositions in the Duomo. The panel of judges was composed of the apostolic secretaries of Eugenius IV. Altamura (p. 19) provides a list of these distinguished gentlemen; one of the men he includes is surprising on two counts. Antonio Loschi, most famous now I suppose as the antagonist of Coluccio Salutati or as a persona in the dialogues of Poggio Bracciolini, is the author of the second Latin tragedy of the Renaissance, the *Achilles*⁸. He would thus have heard all of the

⁷ The bibliography for the *Hiensal* and the *certame coronario* is not too extensive. See notes 1 and 2 above and: Pio Rajna, “Le origini del certame coronario”, in *Scritti vari di erudizione e di critica in onore di Rodolfo Renier* (Turin, 1912), pp. 1027-1056; A. Altamura, *Il certame coronario*. Collezione novantina, 3 (Naples, 1952); F. R. Hausmann, “Die Briefsammlung des Kardinals Giacomo Ammanati und ihre Bedeutung für die Humanistische Briefliteratur des Quattrocento”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, XX (1971), 23-36 (p. 26 and n. 11); G. Gorni, “Storia del certame coronario”, *Rinascimento*, N.S., 12 (1972), 135-181. I have taken an independent position on the question of the *Hiensal*'s composition and of Dati's intentions. The reasons for my position are given in the text.

⁸ Albertino Mussato, *Eccerinis* — Antonio Loschi, *Achilles*. Edited and translated by J. Berrigan. Humanistische Bibliothek, 17 (Munich, 1975).

participants, including Dati, who was to write the *Hiensal*. The second count makes that extremely doubtful, however. Antonio Loschi had died several months earlier in Vicenza. He may have been present in spirit but his body was at rest across the Apennines.

Even without the participation of Loschi, the event was a great success, at least in terms of popular attendance and enthusiasm. It was, however, a disaster for Alberti's hopes to render the vernacular a respectable vehicle for literary endeavor. The judges ruled that none of the contestants deserved the prize, a silver crown; instead, they laid it on the Virgin's altar as a gift to the Church. One of the disappointed candidates was Leonardo Dati, who had contributed the most original of the entries — a dramatic presentation of friendship. He had written it in Tuscan, but in meters based on classic hexameters and sapphics. Of Dati the judges said, "that his poem had not spoken fully of friendship and that, although it was quite rich, well arranged and agreeably adorned, it was outclassed by several of the others in *sententiae*"⁹.

We know that Alberti was disappointed by the judges' decision. He felt that it was produced by their envy, not by the poor quality of the poems. To make this point and at the same time to continue the custom of a *certame coronario*, he proposed a second contest for 1442. Its theme was to be envy, as that of the first had been friendship. Dati wrote the *Hiensal* for this suggested or anticipated contest. Some obscurity and confusion surround this simple statement; it will not then be out of place to provide the evidence for the connection between the second *certame coronario* and the *Hiensal*.

First, there is the unequivocal statement by Dati himself in his preface to the *Hiensal*: "ipsa de qua secundo in coronario disceptaturi sumus invidia". I take this statement to fix the time of composition of the *Hiensal* as between the fiasco of the first contest and the decision not to hold the second contest.

Secondly, in a work written sometime in late 1441 or early 1442 Alberti confirms the affinity of the *Hiensal* and the second contest: "Envy produces the most serious disturbance. Its great power over our minds has been described by your friend, the tragedian Leonardo Dati, a man of the greatest integrity, in his play, the *Hiensal*. He has prepared it for the second crown contest, a splendid institution that

⁹ Altamura, p. 21.

adds to the glory of our city, that inspires the finest talents, and that is suited to the pursuit of good manners and of excellence”¹⁰.

Thirdly, there are the two letters in the ninth book of Leonardo Bruni's collected letters which refer to the *Hiensal* and the projected second contest. The letters not only fix the *Hiensal* chronologically (the ninth book contains letters written by Bruni in 1441 and 1442) but explain what Dati and Alberti were about and why the intended contest on envy was never held. The earlier of the two letters, IX, 7, begins with a clear reference to the *Hiensal* by the Florentine chancellor: “Vidi illa, quae a te scripta sunt adversus Invidiam laudavique, et laudo ingenium tuum”¹¹. The rest of the letter is a beautifully written substantiation of the next sentence of the letter: “Sed michi videtur longe plura dici posse adversus stulticiam, quam adversus invidiam”. Briefly put, Bruni's argument is that *stulticia* is ignorant, *invidia* is not; *stulticia* has never benefited anyone, *invidia* has; *stulticia* is scorned and condemned, *invidia* is not. Bruni closes this chain of reasoning with a personal reference. He recalls an old man from Perugia whom he had known as a youth; this aged Perugino, although he was totally ignorant, believed that he knew all there was to know about poetry and that he was envied for this rare knowledge. “Is si michi carus esset, mallet ut invideret aliis, quam sic stultum esse, ut sibi ab aliis invideri putaret. Cognosceret enim ignorantiam suam, nec de se ipso tam fatue opinaretur, nec sibi putaret invideri, cum nihil in se haberet, quod invidiam mereretur”.

This letter, with its clear arguments and personal allusion, makes a strong case for *stulticia* being worse than *invidia*, folly worse than envy. We should note that this letter would inevitably irritate Alberti. Bruni's disquisition on the character of folly, even his allusion to the old man from Perugia would be taken personally by the younger man. Along with Dati, he viewed envy as the explanation of that October, 1441 decision. If it were folly, not envy, then whose folly? Altamura is right, I believe, in stating that Alberti took the letter as being directed against himself;¹² the folly was his folly and he was somehow embodied in that old Perugino. Such must have been his understanding

¹⁰ L. B. Alberti, *Profugium ab Aerumna*, in *Opere volgari*, edited by C. Grayson, II (Bari, 1966), p. 144.

¹¹ Leonardo Bruni, *Epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. L. Mehus, 2 vols., (Florence, 1741), 2, 152; IX, 10 is found on p. 157 of the second volume.

¹² Altamura, p. 25.

of the matter when he approached Bruni one day in Santa Croce and asked what he meant by this imputation of folly. Apparently Bruni did not understand the question. Alberti, instead of alluding to the letter or to folly, asked about "Carlo's response". One of the judges of the first contest had been Carlo Marsuppini or Carlo Aretino, a future chancellor of Florence. Alberti must have felt that Bruni was mouthing Marsuppini's vindictive judgment of the whole *certame coronario*. Bruni missed the whole point in his Sancta Croce conversation with Alberti and had to write a letter to him (IX, 10), to set the matter straight. He denies that he had had any intention of maligning Dati, "virum praestantem, michique amicum", or Alberti; or of echoing the words of anyone. There is a ring of truth to the letter, but there is also the evident hurt of Alberti, who had only been trying to do something for his city and had encountered envy as his reward. That first letter of Bruni to Dati, coupled with the gossip of Florence, is more than enough of an explanation for the cancellation of the second *certame coronario*.

But why was the *Hiensal* written in Latin? A brief reflection on the entire situation will clarify the reason, I think. The theme was envy; the judges were envious and had unfairly dealt with his earlier effort on friendship. They were classicists and would be open to an attack couched in Latin: one, furthermore, based on a story from Sallust. His earlier poem, they had said, lacked *sententiae*. The *Hiensal* has them in abundance. We have seen that the play was in circulation before the contest was held. This prior currency jibes well with this hypothesis of the *Hiensal* as an anti-classicist, anti-apostolic secretary pamphlet¹³.

The letters of Bruni and Alberti's *Profugium ab Aerumna* show that the latter was convinced that envy was at the root of the judges' decision in the first *certame coronario*. At first he had decided to make this point with a second contest on envy itself; Dati had written the *Hiensal* for precisely this purpose. Alberti discovered that this second effort would be misunderstood and cancelled it. This action prevented the

¹³ The *Hiensal*, moreover, is not the only Latin work written for the second certame. Laurus Quirinus wrote a dialogue on envy for it. See L. Bertalot, "Lauri Quirini 'Dialogus in Gymnasiis Florentinis'. Ein Nachklang zum 'Certame Coronario' (1442)", *Archivum Romanicum*, 7 (1923), 478-509; republished in L. Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, herausg. von P.O. Kristeller. Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi, 129-130; 2 vols., (Rome, 1975), I, 339-372.

full effectiveness of the *Hiensal*, which has come down to us as an isolated curiosity. Dati knew better and kept it as the first piece in his personal copy of his poetry. He was, I feel, justifiably proud of it and well he might be for in it he had gotten the last word on a band of arrogant classicists. And if you know that you have bested the likes of Poggio Bracciolini, aren't you entitled to a sense of silent, warm satisfaction?

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SIGLA CODICUM

- B : Parisinus B.N. lat. 8362.
- P : Parisinus B.N. lat. 8363.
- R : Florentinus Riccardianus 1207.
- V : Vaticanus Chisianus I.V. 194.

I

Letter to the Reader

Leonardus Dathus in historiam Hiensalis * :

1. Masinissa rex Numidarum post bellum Punicum secundum in amicitiam populi Romani receptus, tris procreaverat filios, Gulussam, Manastabilem, et Micipsam. Manastabilis suscepit Iugurtam filium ex concubina. 2. Micipsa duos reliquit liberos, Adherbalem et Hiensalem, quos moriens una cum Iugurta viro strenuo instituit heredes regni. 3. Post exequias cum reguli atque Iugurta de rebus regni consulturi convenissent, Hiensal tumido et elato ingenio predictus Iugurtam despiciens, dextra Adherbalem assedit ne medius honore dignaretur, qui apud Numidas habetur maximus. 4. Deinde cum de rescindendis decretis, quae Micipsa per aegritudinem edidisset, inter se statuerent, ex sua id agi sententia Hiensal dixit, quod per id temporis Iugurta esset in regnum adoptatus. 5. Qua ex re Iugurta vehementer commotus curavit ut noctu per satellites Hiensal necaretur. Inde Libiae regnum calamitatibus obrutum corrui. 6. Per hanc historiam quae late ac fuse apud Sallustium enarratur, ipsa de qua secundo in coronario disceptaturi sumus, invidia describitur. 7. Sunt actus quinque. Primo dicimus quid qualisve sit invidia. Secundo quid ea possit in animis eorum quibus insit. Tertio quales sint invidi erga eos quibus invident. Quarto quales reddat invidia eos quos invidi lacessierint. Ultimo quantis malis invidia ipsa universum genus hominum afficiat. 8. Prima scena succincte quodammodo explicat huius ipsius tragoediae argumentum. Lege feliciter.

* L. Dathus cuiquam lecturo salutem, R. *Huic saluti addunt* BP: Quo (B: Quo et) facilius meam hanc Hiensalis tragediam habeas, haec tibi fuerint argumenti loco.

1 tris procreaverat : treis procreavit, P
Manastabilis : Manastabiles, P
filium : *omiserunt* BPR.

3 predictus : praedictus, P

4 temporis : tempus, B

5 Libiae regnum : regnum Libyae, P

7 qualisve : qualisque, P
lacessierint : lacesserint, BRV

8 feliciter : felix. Vale, BP. *Addit* P : Romae M CCCC XL.

I

Letter to the Reader

L. Dati introduces his Hiensal story :

1. Masinissa, the king of the Numidians, after the second Punic War became a friend of the Roman people; he had begotten three sons, Gulussa, Manastabilis, and Micipsa. Manastabilis begot Jugurtha by a concubine. 2. Micipsa left two sons, Adherbal and Hiensal. On his death he established them along with Jugurtha, a man of vigor, as heirs of the kingdom. 3. After the funeral the young kings and Jugurtha met together to discuss the affairs of the kingdom. Hiensal, endowed with a proud and arrogant spirit, despised Jugurtha and made Adherbal sit on his right. That way Jugurtha would not sit in the middle, which is the place of greatest honor among the Numidians. 4. Then when they agreed among themselves to repeal the arrangements that Micipsa had made during his illness, Hiensal said that his reason for doing so was that Jugurtha had been adopted as an heir during that period. 5. Jugurtha was greatly angered by this and had Hiensal murdered at night by some of his henchmen. Thereby the kingdom of Libya collapsed into ruins. 6. Through this story, which is narrated in ample detail by Sallust, envy is described, about which we are to contend in a second competition. 7. There are five acts. In the first we say what sort of thing envy is, in the second what it can do in the spirits of those it infests. In the third we show how the envious behave towards those whom they envy, in the fourth how those who have been injured by the envious behave. In the last we see how many ills envy is responsible for inflicting upon the whole human race. 8. The first scene in a brief sort of way explains the subject of this tragedy. Read it with pleasure.

II

Poesis **

Ambitio caelum petens ex tonitruo Invidiam genuit, terrisque deiectam filliam, quod informis esset, in scopulum relegavit. Quae tandem adnavit terras Ambitionemque matrem pro suscepta iniuria persecuta est. Inde inter Hiensalem ac Iugurtam simultas suborta peperit caedem Hiensalis et regni stragem.

III

Moralis

Ambitio genuit Invidiam. Invidia genuit Discordiam. Discordia genuit Perfidiā, quicum inopia, furtum, caedes, rapina consequuntur.

IV

Ad dominum Prosperum Cardinalem de Columna in
Hiensalem tragediam Praefatio : ***

*Carmen archilo-
gicum trimetrum
iambicum acha-
talecticum.*

Ad dulce praesidium meum, ad certum domus
Altae Columnae et unicum Romae decus,
Ad Prosperum tendes, Hiensal, et pede

** Poesis ... Moralis : *eorum ordinem invertit titulosque omisit* P.
tonitruo : tonitru, B
genuit : gignes, P (*pro gignens?*)
persecuta est : *addit* P : et per sylvam Ericthonium et per omnes terras etiam per
aedes Micissae Regis.
caedes : *om.* P
consequuntur : sequuntur, P.

*** *Titulus in P* : Ad colendissimum Dominum suum, Dominum Prosperum Cardinalem Columnam in Hiensalem Tragoediam Leonardi Dathi Florentini Episcopi Massani Praefatio. *In B* : Ad dominum ... Columnam Leonardi Dathi Florentini presbiteri in ...
v. 3 tendes : tendens, BR

IV. Cardinal Prospero Colonna († Rome 14 III 1463).

II

Poetry

Ambition, reaching for heaven, begot Envy by the Thunderer. She hurled her daughter to the earth because she was misshapen and abandoned her on a crag. Envy finally swam ashore and pursued her mother for the injury she had received. Then strife arose between Hiensal and Jugurtha; it caused the death of Hiensal and the destruction of the kingdom.

III

Moral

Ambition begot envy. Envy begot discord. Discord begot treachery. There ensue penury, thievery, slaughter, and rapine.

IV

A preface to the tragedy of Hiensal,
to Monsignor Prospero Cardinal Colonna.

To my sweet protection and the sure glory
Of the house of the lofty Column, the single
Glory of Rome, to Prospero you will go, Hiensal,

- Grandi; at licet nec compta nec forsā ferax
 5 Sententiis, ut decet, ei tamen ut reor,
 Quoniam mea es, futura grata principi.
 Nam et mitis est et me Dathum valde probat.
 Tum pande quanti est invidia tenax mali,
 Quae regna scindit funditus, fratres necat,
 10 Quando et ita pestilens venenum livor est,
 Ut vitia tantum cetera excedat lue,
 Virtute quantum Prosper excellit viros.

V

Leonardi Dathi Florentini Hiensal tragedia.

Ambitio et Modestia

*Carmen archilo-
gicum trimetrum
iambicum acha-
talecticum.*

- Amb.* : Per et profundum et fulgidum et castum polum
 Molleque solum aetheris et per alitum vias
 Delapsa terris, huc ad hos veteris meos
 Lauti hospites regni dea et terra et mari
 5 Iactata confugio; ita me infensa et procax
 Partu sata meo, Invidia persequitur dolis,
 Monstrum vel inferis et invisum et grave.
 O me parentem miseram, iterum et iterum mise-
 Ram! Tot latebris totque in orbis arcibus,
 10 Ad me tuendam nullus est datus locus.
 Quocunque tendo, nata praeturbat viam.
Mod. : Tibi quidem, fastu hoc tuo posito, tuis,
 O ambitio, si temporibus obtemperes,
 Quoad poteris, ipsa consules. Stat enim mihi
 15 Vetus sacellum, quo deūm pater atque rex
 Monstra atque curas progredi vetuit graves.

v. 4 Grandi : socco, B
 v. 8 pande : prome, B

v. 8 mise- : inse-, R; miseram, B (*in quo v. 9 incipit a Tot*)
 v. 14 Stat : sat, R.

With stately stride. You may not be adorned
 Nor full of “sententiae”, as is becoming,
 But you will please that prince,
 I think, because you are mine. He is kind
 And greatly loves me, Dati. Then reveal
 How great a source of evil is Envy. She
 Splinters realms to their very foundations,
 And causes the deaths of brethren. So deadly
 A poison is Envy that she exceeds the other
 Vices in bane as much as Prospero
 In virtue excels all other men.

V

Hiensal, a tragedy by Leonardo Dati of Florence.

Ambition and Modesty

- Amb.* : Through the depths of the bright, pure sky,
 The gentle zone of the ether and the paths of birds
 I have fallen to the earth. I come here to
 These hosts of mine in the ancient wealthy kingdom.
 Although a goddess, I am buffeted on land and sea
 And flee before my violent, wrathful child.
 Craftily does Envy pursue me; she is a monster
 Even to the gods below, savage and unseen.
 O wretched mother that I am : again
 And again I am wretched. In caves and among the peaks
 Of the world there is no place to hide myself.
 Wherever I go, my child disturbs my course.
- Mod.* : If you were to lay aside this arrogance
 Of yours, Ambition, and suit yourself to the times.
 As far as you could, you would benefit yourself.
 I dispose of an ancient chapel, where the father
 And the king of the gods has forbidden monsters and cares
 Of any weight to enter.

- Amb.* : Aerumna ab ipsis infimis mortalibus
 Malo vel ex parte minima levarier,
 Quam omni a deorum grege gravi malo eripi.
 20 Nam ab his quidem levi relato munere
 Pro maximo beneficii merito eximar.
 At quis deorum est qui uspiam sibi esse par
 Putet relatum, ubi me suis meritis deam
 Devinxerit? Nempe insolens divûm est genus,
 25 Quod in dies parvo moveri munere
 Dediscimus superi. At quid altas aedium
 Sedes inurentem intus Invidiam audio?
 Inde adeo iam quoad fors feret mihi consulam.
 Cedam furenti. Namque cedendo furor
 30 Frangitur. Abibo hinc ad lares intro abditos.
- Mod.* : Ast ego? Meam quo me urbis artifices pii
 Locaverant sudore, sordidam petam
 Aram, ut protervam hanc et domum et gentem suum
 Ruentem in excidium subinde rideam,
 35 Quando hic quidem nostri apud eosdem numinis
 Ita nunc colendi ratio curave excidit.

Asper et Polimites

- Car. arch.
 trim. iamb. achat.* *Asper* : Etenim, sator deorum et hominum, Iuppiter,
 Qui aethera potes mari atque terras aetheri
 Miscere nutu, numquid haud satis est tibi,
 40 Iras trisulca si exeris tuas face,
 Flammas et hinc et inde iaculans dextera
 Ni vel feram hanc hominumque perniciem ultimam
 Terris feras? O et tu, Olimpicum decus,
 Qui pulcher alta templa gemmis fulgidis
 45 Expicta lustras, fervidis praeceps rotis,
 Vincisque dum libet atque prosternis feras,
- vv. 17-21 *Modestiae tribuit P.*
 v. 28 tonsulam, R.
 v. 35 hic : *om.* B.
 v. 39 satis : satum, R.
 v. 41 hinc et : hinc, R.
 v. 43 tu : tuum, BPR.
 v. 44 gemmis : gemis, B.

- Crinite Phoebe, usque adeo ne hos miseros potes
 Odisse mortalis, ut et quos Lucifer
 Praemissus abs te quenquam nuncians diem
 50 Dulci a sopore matutinus excitet,
 Et quos tu agas exerceasque laboribus
 Sine fine duris atque morti concites,
 Eos item a feralibus fede undique
 Monstris sub oculo gaudeas tuo premi?
 55 Profecto sub te, Phoebe, respirat nihil
 Durius homine; vel quos homo tandem sibi
 Faciles habebit, usque tam exosus diis?
Pol. : Imo et quidem sub sole delitiae deûm
 Est homo, modo se hominem velit, non beluam.
Asper : Quodcumque vescitur aura et incolit globum,
 Quem premimus ipsi, plus diis cordi est quam homo.
 Siquidem fames, langor, dolor, quae caeteris
 Extrema sunt mala, nos apud capita ultimis
 Angustiis obmersa non mala prima sunt.
 65 Adeo angimur solliciti et innumeris malis.
 En stant comae mihi atque ab imis spiritus
 Praecordiis gelat. Heu cado, heu desum mihi
 Percussus horrore, omnibus nervis fluens.
 O dulce, laetum refugium, a diis datum
 70 Nostris malis. Per te quidem aerumnas graves,
 Maerorem, inopiam ponimus; per te fera
 Monstra et refertam maximis vitam malis
 Fugimus beasque quo minus sero obvenis.
Pol. : Sapiens statuet hoc munus in vita sibi
 75 Sese ut ferat, cum nullus adversus est magis
 Homini aut molestus est magis, quam homo met sibi.
 Tum qui suas apte volet res ducere,
 Is muniet mentem artibus bonis suam.
 Qua fretus haud ullas cohorrebit feras.
 80 Virtuti opem superi ferunt; nocet nihil.

- v. 49 quenquam : quemque, B.
 v. 58 Imo et : Immo, P.
 v. 68 Percussus, R.
 v. 75 est : et, R.
 v. 77 qui : quia, P.

A pitch? The morning-star, sent forth before
 You, announces the day and wakens them from their
 Sweet sleep. Then you bring them out
 And tire them to exhaustion with toil unend-
 Ing, exposing them to hardships and death.
 Do you rejoice to see them everywhere
 Cruelly oppressed by savage monstrosities?
 Indeed beneath you, Phoebus, there breathes no being
 Hardier than man, but whom shall man find kind
 To him, since he is so hateful to the gods?

Pol. : But surely beneath the sun man is the delight
 Of the gods, as long as he acts the man, not the beast.

Asper : Whatever breathes the air and inhabits
 The globe we tread is dearer to the gods
 Than man. For others the worst of ills are hunger,
 Feebleness and grief. So troubled are we with the most
 Extreme of ills that these do not appear
 To be the first we count. Lo! my hair
 Stands straight and from my very soul I'm frozen.
 Alas, I fall, alas, I faint, struck down
 By terror; my body seems to melt away.
 O sweet and joyful refuge given to us
 By the gods, for our ills. Through you we lay aside
 Our heavy griefs, our sorrow and our need.
 Through you we escape savage monsters and a life
 Replete with the greatest evils and the sooner
 You come the better is your blessing on us.

Pol. : The wise man will make this his goal in life,
 The way in which he bears himself, since no one is more
 Hostile to a man, nor more troublesome
 Than a man is to himself. Then if one wants
 To handle his affairs successfully,
 He will provide his mind with noble arts.
 Relying on his mind, he will fear no beasts.
 The gods grant help to virtue; it nothing harms.

Asper : Nay, rather, all the gods, above, below,
 And in between loathe virtue since they do not
 Remove that hateful monster, Envy, which
 Pursues virtue. Do you, O gods, allow

- Asper* : Imo dii summi, infimi atque medioxumi,
 Virtutem odio habent, quando livorem impium
 Monstrumque virtuti insidens non amovent.
 Vosne, dii, hanc tam pestilentem bestiam
 85 Publicaque privataque volutantem loca
 Sinitis nec arcetis, dii, ne lurido
 Sacra et profana omnia pedore polluat?
 Exanimor hoc equidem. Sed, o superi, probe
 Vestrae hinc saluti est additum : Invidiam simul
 90 Iecistis orbis monstuosi ad incolas,
 Eique thalares fero monstro leves
 Vetuistis, alarumque ventivolas iubas.
 Quodsi supernum volitet attingens polum,
 Non dubito quin audax comam Bacho secet,
 95 Discerpat ex humeris Dianae arcum aureum
 Pharetramque, distrudatque clangifragam tubam
 Ensemque cornipedemque Mavorti fero,
 Phoebos lyram, altiboanteque a maris Deo
 Tridentem, et ex tua, o Tonans, fulmen manu
 100 Vertat, novum horrendum atque inauditum nefas,
 Caelumque caelicolasque non secus ac domum,
 Lares, penates Massinissae dissipet.
 Ita, quam timent luem et relegant dii procul,
 Virtute fretus quispiam, qui homo sit, feret?
- Pol.* : Numquam, dum erunt homines, erit non faeta humus
 Monstris nefandis. Nam ultro monstra hi provocant
 Passimque blandiuntur et cohalunt sinu.
- Asper* : Ergo lubet hinc effugere ab omni hominum grege.

Chorus

Carmen glyconicum.

- Quicquid sub pelago natat
 110 Tetrum, quicquid in ultimis
 Speluncis Libicis siti

- v. 83 Monstrumque : Monstrum, B (*contra metrum*!)
 v. 90 Iecistis : Relegastis, B.
 v. 99 et : *om.* R; O : *om.* B.
 v. 103 Ita quam dii metuunt luem et relegant procul, B.
 v. 107 blanduntur, R.

This pestilent beast, that haunts both public and private life, to roam at large? Do you not prevent It, O gods, from staining with its loathesome filth All things, both sacred and profane? I'm dazed By this, but for your safety you added this, O gods; you hurled Envy among the inhabitants of this monstrous world and at the same Time forbade this savage monster to have The speedy winged sandals or the wind-borne pinions of wings. But should she fly and reach The sky above, I'm sure that she will cut off Bacchus' hair in her audacity And rip the golden bow and quiver off Diana's shoulders and snatch from Mars his sword, His clangorous trumpet and his horse, from Phoebus His lyre. From the booming lord of the sea his trident. And out of your hands, O thunderer, she'll grab The lightning-bolt, a new, dire, unheard Of crime. She'll destroy heaven and its gods Just as she's destroying the home and the household gods Of Masinissa. So the plague that the gods Are frightened of and keep far from themselves Which man can bear, relying on virtue?

Pol. : As long as there are men,
The earth will teem with dreadful monsters. They
Of themselves call forth these monsters, delight
In them and clutch them to their breasts.

Asper : So I
Prefer to get away from the race of man.

Chorus

Whatever swims beneath the sea,
Whatever ugly thing in the furthest
Caves of Libya broods in thirst,
Squalid and deadly,
Is much less, much less awful
Than Envy, the god of sins.
Should Cerberus see its face,

		Squalens ac nocuum latet, Horrendum est minus ac minus Quam Livor scelerum deus.
	115	Cuius cum faciem canis Infernus videat, tremet, Omnesque Eumenides simul. Olli frons riget hispida
<i>Archilogicum</i>		Cervixque hirtis aspera setis,
<i>Gliconicum</i>	120	Subcrispat rabiem rugis, Protensae et grave pendulae Dependent ciliis cavis
<i>Archilogicum</i>		Alae geminae, atrae, pannosae, Noctua quales nocte fatigat,
<i>Gliconicum</i>	125	Retrudosque oculos brevi Succcludunt luteos sinu. Cum nox vellere tingitur Et Phoebe iacet abdita, Tum monstrum hoc acie valens
<i>Archilogicum</i>	130	Distorto ad lucem capite fremit Aeternumque leves circumdeductitat aures,
<i>exame. heroicum</i>		Ac tabo et sanie madens,
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Rumore alitur fraudis iniquae, Et studia hominum cordaque passim
<i>Archilogicum</i>	135	Scrutans vincit nare canum vim; Sed lacerantes omnia tetri Dentes faucibus eminent; Semper dispare blacterat Pectore linguae,
<i>Adonium</i>		
<i>Gliconium</i>	140	Efflans tabificam Stygen. Sunt et pectus ei et manus, Quales ventre famellico Simia levis instabiles agit.
<i>Archilogicum</i>		Stat dorsum callo praeduro et morsibus ustum.
<i>Exam. he.</i>		
<i>Gliconicum</i>	145	Demum de femore in pedem Lascivus caper ambulat.

v. 123 pannosae : spandosae, R.

v. 131 Aeterinique, R.

v. 115 Canis infernus = Cerberus.

He would tremble and all
The Eumenides along with him.
Its shaggy brow is coarse,
Its neck is rough with bristles,
Its face is wrinkled with rage.
And from its hollow eyes
There hang, large and drooping,
Twin wings, black and ragged,
Such as bats beat at night.
They hide its murky, sunken eyes
Within their folds.
When the night is dyed with fleece
And the moon lies hidden,
Then this keen-eyed monster shrieks,
Its head twisted to the light.
Forever it turns its light ears around;
Reeking of rot and gore,
It feeds on rumors of base deceit
And outstrips the sniffing of dogs
As it studies the hearts and cares of men.
But awful fangs, which tear all up,
Protrude from its jaws
And ever it bleats with the misshapen
Mass of its tongue,
Exhaling the pesty Styx.
Its chest and hands are like
Those of a starving antic monkey
Which never keeps them still.
Its back is thick hide,
All chafed with bites.
From its thigh to its paw
It gambols the sportive ram.
When bold Ambition sought the skies,
The story goes that this monster
Was begotten by the thundering father,
Against the will of the gods above,
And thrown to the earth
Through a rent in the clouds.
Hence its breast is ever ablaze

<i>Asclepiad.</i>		Cum caelum peteret Ambitio procax,
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Fama est patre tonitruo
<i>Archilologicum</i>		Monstrum invitis superis divis
<i>Exam. he.</i>	150	Progenitum et terris disrupta nube remissum.
		Hinc gelidis flammis aeternum pectore flagrat
<i>Archilologicum</i>		Pernixque omnem pervolat orbem.
<i>Asclepi. coriamb.</i>		Nunc arces, aditus, atria principum,
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Nunc et publica compita,
<i>Archilologicum</i>	155	Nunc mappalia et humilis glebas
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Observat celeri ambitu,
		Sed gymnasia pallidae
<i>Archilologicum</i>		Intrat penitus falsa Minervae.
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Ex frugi atque pio impium
<i>Archilologicum</i>	160	Laetumque malis comitum reddit,
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Fraudem iudiciis serit,
<i>Archilologicum</i>		Frontemque notat scelere tristem.
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Ipsum non Herebi fores
		Obiectae valeant procul
<i>Archilologicum</i>	165	Arcere; subit, perstat, inheret;
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Quin et semideos quoque
		Atrox hic furor occupat.
<i>Exa. hero.</i>		Heu Livor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Sed pestem hanc fugiet face
<i>Archilologicum</i>	170	Prae se ardenti, fora qui lustret
		Vel qui sola rideat umbra.
		Sed quid tristis prodit Hiensal?

SECUNDUS ACTUS

Hiensal et Polimites

<i>Car. arch.</i>	<i>Hi. :</i>	Velim furentis aethere obvolvi Nothos
<i>trim. iamb. achat.</i>		Vastisque convalles hiatibus hiscere

v. 148	tonitru patre, B.
v. 149	divinis, R.
v. 150	remissum : repulsum, P; legatum, B.
v. 165	praestat, R.
v. 148	Pater tonitruus = Iuppiter.

With chilling flames ;
 It swiftly flies through the whole world.
 Now the towers, the gates, the courts of princes,
 Now the public squares,
 Now the huts and gardens of the poor
 It views on its swift course.
 But the false halls of pale
 Minerva it enters the deepest.
 It turns a worthy and decent man
 Indecent, happy in his friends'
 Misfortune. It sows deceit
 In court decisions. It brands
 The doleful brow with crime.
 The doors of Erebus, shut to it,
 Cannot keep it out.
 It enters, prevails, takes command.
 Nay, even the demigods
 Are seized by this cruel frenzy.
 Alas, Envy, what crimes do you not
 Compel the heart of man to commit?
 But he shall escape this pest
 Who traverses the squares with a torch
 Blazing before him or smiles
 In the shade by himself.
 But why is Hiensal coming forth so gloomy?

SECOND ACT

Hiensal and Polimites

Hi. : I wish that the raging winds would confound the sky,
 The valleys yawn with mighty chasms, and with
 An awful roar the soaring mountain-tops
 Resound, and from its depths the entire sea be
 Smitten dreadfully with storms, to the final destruc-
 Tion of the nations, since in the race of man
 So terribly have impious parents hated their sons.
 Who is so strong, who is so wrought of iron

- 175 Fragoreque ingenti superba rupium
 Circumruere culmina et ab imis sedibus
 Alte procellis concuti totum mare
 In ultimam pestem luemque gentium,
 Quandoquidem in hominum genere tam male liberos
- 180 Iam tum parentes impii oderunt suos.
 Quis adeo fortis est, quis est tam ferreus
 Qui non ut ego scelus in Mycipsae fulminet?
 En mihi furore pectus accensum labat.
- Pol.* : Quisque facinus suum male admissum ferat
- 185 Aegre et moleste, nil per alienum vigil.
- Hi.* : Externa ab iniuria oritur vehemens dolor.
- Pol.* : Tuum esse iam incipiet malum quo non bene
 Tecum sit et quicumque secum dissidens
 Animo suo illuctatur, haudquaquam ocium
- 190 Praestabit aliis. Esse te regem scias.
- Hi.* : Servum scio. Atque ipsum quidem regnum est mise-
 Rum. Illi et mali hoc inest, ut omnia cum queas
 Tum et tibi nihil satis queas aequae ut velis.
- Pol.* : Iuvat in hominum vita minus velle ac minus
- 195 Eniti in omni re usque quam possis tibi.
 Quo fit ut et inde plura possis quam velis.
- Hi.* : At regium est grandia minus nolle ac queas.
 O impium dirumque productum ex ea
 Dura impiaque stirpe Getula! O ferum,
- 200 Cui filii tam sint odio ut hunc sordidum
 Adiecerit regni coheredem sui!
 Eumne Iugurtam patre incerto editum?
 Dolisque regiam male acturum suis?
 Et quem ille? tune, tune regem, tu parem
- 205 Regnique filiisque consortem tuis?
 Scelestē!
- Pol.* : Nemo solus imperium gerit.
- Hi.* : Quisquis alieno arbitrio aget rem, serviet.

v. 186 ab : ob, R.

v. 187 Tuum : Tum, R.

v. 191 mise- : miserum, B.

v. 192 *Incipit* : Regno et mali ..., B.

v. 204 parem : Patre, R.

That he would not thunder like me against the crime
Of Micipsa? Lo, my breast, afire with frenzy,
Is on the verge of tottering.

Pol. : Each man
Should bear in sorrow and pain the sins that are his.
He should not concern himself with those of others.

Hi. : A dreadful grief arises when another
Does you an injury.

Pol. : The evil becomes
Yours when things are not well with you. Whoever
Is at war with himself and wrestles with his soul
Will never grant rest to others. Know that you
Are king.

Hi. : I know that I am a slave. The realm
Itself is wretched. Another evil is this,
That when you can do everything, you can't
Do just exactly what you'd like.

Pol. : It's best
In human life to wish for less and to strive
For less in everything that you can achieve.
Thereby you can achieve more than you wish.

Hi. : But it is royal not to wish for less
Than you can achieve in great affairs. O dread
And unholy seed, derived from the harsh and unholy
Stock of the Gaetuli, by you your sons are hated
To such a point that you named this vile co-heir
Of the realm, Jugurtha, sired by an unknown father.
He will, with his wiles, mismanage the realm. Is he
The man that you, that you chose as our king,
Our equal, the associate of your sons in the realm?
Disgraceful!

Pol. : No one alone controls the realm.

Hi. : Whoever acts at another's bidding will be
A slave.

Pol. : Indeed, unless a king accept
Good counsel willingly, he will accept
Bad counsel to his own regret.

Hi. : Whoever
Fears the bad, surely fears all men.

- Pol.* : Profecto consiliis bonis nisi ultro rex
Paruerit, aegre abinde parebit malis.
- Hi.* : Quisquis malos timet, profecto omnes timet.
Homines vel oderunt vel optant quod neque-
Unt; male qui et oderit, studet semper male.
Regique regem qui dabit, regnum abstrahet.
- Pol.* : Fraterne fratrem non colet?
- Hi.* : Colet? Ubinam
- 215 *Tutus erit amor, odisse cum possis homo,
Et nostra mens a rebus omnis pendeat?*
- Pol.* : Amabere ut voles.
- Hi.* : Volam ut tempus feret.
- Pol.* : Modo ne hoc agas invitus, et regum omnium
Eris ipse felicissimus.
- Hi.* : Id optent licet.

*Carm. arch.
trim. iamb. achat.*

Chorus et Polimites

- Chorus* : Quonam hinc agitur aut abit Hiensal? Quid furit?
- Pol.* : Quo eum volentem fata praecipitant sua.
- Chorus* : Fatum est id homini nosse fatis cedere?
- Pol.* : Fatum ferendo vincitur.
- Chorus* : Quicquid feras,
Premit, atque fatum posse ferre fortiter,
225 *Fatum est.*
- Pol.* : Enim hominum nemo felix umquam erit
Invitus. At livor quod aspectu foret
Truculentus ac foedus, quod horrendus nimis,
A matre primum medio in oceani scoplo
Expositus aspero et minaci rupibus,
230 *Circumstrepentis aquae fragore fervido
Alitur; abinde cadavere advectus petit
Terras, et extemplo mali accepti memor
Totum per orbem persequitur odiis deam.*

- v. 209 abunde, P.
v. 211 neque- : nequeunt, B.
v. 212 *Incipit* : Male quisquis oderit B.
v. 214 Fraterne : fratre ne, R.
v. 230 fragore : frigore, P.

For either men hate or else they want what they
 Cannot have. The man who's bad at hating
 Is always bad at striving, too, and he
 Who will give a king a king, will take away his realm.

Pol. : Will brother not cherish brother?

Hi. : Cherish? Where

Will love be sure when you as a man hate
 And our whole mind depends on the course of events?

Pol. : You'll be loved as you wish.

Hi. : I'll wish as time

Determines.

Pol. : Don't do this unwillingly and you
 Will be the happiest of kings.

Hi. : So they may wish.

Chorus and Polimites

Chorus : Where is Hiensal being driven or going?
 Why does he rage?

Pol. : His fate is hurling him as he desires.

Chorus : Is it fated for man to know that he's yielding to fate?

Pol. : Our fate is mastered by endurance.

Chorus : Whatever

You bear is necessary and it is fate
 That you are able bravely to bear you fate.
Pol. : No man will ever be happy against his will.
 But Envy, because it was so wrathful of visage,
 So grim, so awful, by its mother
 Was first exposed on a rock in the midst of the sea,
 A rock that was harsh and fearsome with its crags.

It was nourished by the boiling din of the waves
 That surged on every side. Then did it seek
 The shore, borne on the back of a corpse. At once
 It thought of the evil it had endured and through
 The whole world it pursued the goddess with its hate.
 Distraught with fear, she hid herself far away
 Within a gloomy cave in an Attic grove.
 But then, Ambition, the mother, came to our land

Exterrita illa metu, abdidit sese procul
 235 Spelunca opaca intra nemus Erithonium.
 Subinde nostram regiam Ambitio haec parens
 Ut subiit, heu Livor inimicus appulit,
 Turbatque prosternitque cuncta funditus.

Chorus

Non est invidia quis minus invido
 240 Dignus; nam miser est quilibet invidus,
 Obiectae simulhac invidet areae.
 Inprimisque sibi est ille nocentior,
 Qui livore alium findere nititur.
 Aeternum siquidem tristibus uritur
 245 Curis sollicito pectore languidus.
 Sic auctor propriis obteritur malis.
 Vos Numidae igitur discite puberes
 Virtutis studio quaerere gloriam.
 Virtus praesidium est nobile et unicum.
 250 Virtus imperium non violabile.
 Vindictae et satis est, si prius invidens
 Multo praedoluit quam male missili
 Contorto potuit laedere quempiam.

*Saphicum
trochaicum*

Ecce Iugurtam quotiens periclis
 Vidimus missum, probitate et armis
 Ipse fortunam invidiamque parto

Adonium

Nomine vicit.

Sa. tr.

Caeteros quantum superabat acri
 Gloria, tantum et meritis studebat

260 Omnibus carus fore liberali

Ad.

Pectore et ore.

Sa. tr.

Strenuus ferro, genio sagaci
 Plenus et rebus bene consulendis

v. 241 areae : arce, P.
 v. 246 obteritur, B.

v. 235 Erichthonius = Attic or Athenian.

And alas! then hostile Envy arrived, disturb-
 Ing and confusing everything completely,

Chorus

No one is less worthy of envy than
 The envious man, for wretched is he
 Who envies. Everything he sees he envies.
 And most of all he hurts himself
 Who tries to injure another through envy.
 Forever his anxious breast is ablaze,
 With dreadful cares he languishes.
 So the author is crushed by his own evils.
 Learn, then, you men of Numidia,
 To seek glory by pursuing virtue.
 Virtue is a noble and unique defense.
 Virtue's realm is inviolable.
 Vengeance enough it is if he who
 Envies sorrows beforehand
 That he can injure someone
 With a poorly thrown javelin.
 Lo, how often have we seen
 Jugurtha in the midst of perils
 Sent forth with the arms of integrity.
 He vanquished both fortune and envy
 By winning renown.
 As much as he excelled the others
 With thrilling glory, so much did he strive
 By his deserts to be dear to all
 With a generous breast and tongue.
 Powerful with his sword, full
 Of wise counsel and fit for well
 Considered action, the hope and the new
 Glory of Masinissa's race.
 Ever desirous of virtue rather than
 Praise, he alone learned by bearing
 The rules of command to be as much
 As he should be with his weapons.
 So pursue virtue, you eager youth,

Ad. 265 Aptus, ac spes et nova Massinissae
 Gloria gentis,
 Sa. tr. Usque virtutis cupidus magis quam
 Laudis; hic unus didicit ferendo
 Imperi leges, simul esse quantus
 Ad. Debeat armis.
 Sa. tr. 270 Ergo virtutem cole prompta pubes;
 Te tibi exorna et decus et decorem
 Et genus, laudemque tibi ipsa soli
 Ad. Posce iuventus.
 Sa. tr. Nam sibi quisquis sciet imperare
 275 Ille pro quantum sibi, quam perhenne
 Regnum habet, semper nihil occupata
 Ad. Mente triumphat.
 Sa. tr. Non eum tum fors furiosa vexat,
 Non et irati superi lacesunt.
 280 Gaudet aeternum, celebri invidentes
 Ad. Luce fatigat.

TERTIUS ACTUS

Car. archil.
trim. iamb. achat.

Adherbal et Hiensal

Adh. : Non tanta, quantam qui intulerit, iniuria est,
 Sed tanta, quantam quis sibi illatam extimat.
Hi. : Modicum est nihil, quod a dolore est maximo.
Adh. : Dolebis in dies minus, cum plus sapis.
Hi. : Homini sat est nosse agere rem ex sententia.
Adh. : Quaeque institueris rite, facile est exequi.
Hi. : Consilia probet eventus. Interim hac mea
 Fruor voluptate ac libidinem expleo,
 290 Medio ne consessu quasi et parentem eum
 Dignabimur nostro, ne sordidum in domum
 Nostram hunc calonem pene conventitium.
 Operae pretium abiisse sit eum tristius

v. 265 Glorie, R.
 v. 275 quantum et sibi, BP.
 v. 280 celebre, P.
 v. 282 quanta, P; qui *om.* R.

Adorn yourself with grace and glory
 And praise demand for yourself alone.
 For whoever will learn to control himself
 Will have just so large a realm
 Forever. He triumphs, his mind
 Completely free.
 The frenzies of fortune disturb
 Him not nor do the gods in their wrath
 Provoke him. He rejoices eternally,
 Harassing the envious with his brilliance.

THIRD ACT

Adherbal and Hiensal

Adh. : An injury is measured not by the one
 Who afflicts but by the one who endures the blow.
Hi. : Nothing is small that involves the greatest pain.
Adh. : Your grief will decline as you advance in wisdom.
Hi. : Enough for a man to know how to act according to his
 decision.
Adh. : It's easy to complete what you've properly planned.
Hi. : Let the outcome prove the plans. Meanwhile I savor
 This pleasure of mine and fulfill my desire that we
 Shall not by granting him the middle seat
 Accord him the honor of a parent nor wel-
 Come him, that filthy tramp, into our home.
 Let it be worth the trouble that he left
 His place with greater sadness than he took
 It in his arrogance. Now let Jugurtha
 Pretend as he wants or as he is used to. In this

- A sede quam, velut arrogans est, affuit.
 295 Confingat ut vult modo Iugurta atque ut solet.
 Hoc ipse laetor quando sub risu impio
 Undare sensi lacrimas maestas suo.
 Sed cum molestus esse cuiquam ceperis,
 Opprimito, moles interim in te ne ruat.
Adh. : Imo et molestus esse cuiquam ut ceperis,
 Desinito ne tuum in caput molem struas.
 Qui e fronte risu taedium abstersit sua,
 Cum consulit sibi, tum et infestis simul
 Importat ut doleant, et usque principem
 305 Beneficiis clarum esse pulchre condecet.
Hi. : Beneficione tu satis hominem tuo,
 Qui prebet ingratum inde se, devincies?
 En gratum hominem amarique dignum qui, inmemor
 Doni a Micipsa patre collati sibi,
 310 Decreta, quibus est tractus in regnum, rogo
 Vix funerum extincto, esse per se turpiter
 Rescissa studeat impudens, et impudens
 Qui exordium regni eruendi patriis
 Sanctisque vertendis capiat a legibus,
 315 Regni luem excidiumque nimirum parat.
 Cavendum, Adherbal, tibi necem is ferox parat.
Adh. : Fastum quidem obsequio propere vinces tuo.
Hi. : Quin fastus obsequio procacius intumet,
 Et insolentem qui haud coercet, illicit.
 320 Sed familiae nostros penates ac deos
 Probe in dies opem esse laturos scio.
Adh. : Spem esse meriti filiam vulgo ferunt;
 Sperasse et adeo bona bene merendo licet.
Hi. : Apud immerentem bene mereri dum voles
 325 Demerueris.
Adh. : Rem egisse pro officio sat est.

- v. 298 cuipiam ut ceperis, R.
 v. 300 cuipiam, R.
 v. 304 principem : precipem, R.
 v. 306 Beneficium ne tu, R.
 v. 315 luem : stragem, B.
 v. 317 Factum, P.
 v. 318 procacium, R.

I rejoice that I saw his tears of sorrow well up
Despite his impious smile. But when you begin
To trouble anyone, then finish him off,
So that the roof may not collapse on you.

Adh. : Nay, when you begin to trouble anyone,
Be sure that the roof will not collapse on you.
A man who wipes disgust from his brow with a smile,
When he minds himself he'll cause some sorrow
To his enemies; and it befits the prince
To be illustrious with kindnesses.

Hi. : Will you really overwhelm the man
With your kindness, who then will show himself ungrate-
Ful? Behold that grateful man,
One worthy of love! He has forgotten the gift
Bestowed on him by our father Micipsa.
The ashes of the pyre were hardly cold, when
He in his shameless impudence tries to have annulled
The very decrees by which he was advanced
To the throne; he's shameless enough to begin the realm's
destruction

By subverting the sacred laws of our father, he
Is surely preparing the death and ruination
Of the realm. Beware, Adherbal, that violent
Man is preparing to kill you as well.

Adh. : You will quickly subdue his pride by your submission.

Hi. : Nay, pride swells yet more insolent when one
Submits. You tempt an arrogant man when you
Don't curb him. But I know that the gods above
And those of our household will rightly grant help

Adh. : To our family in the days ahead.

It's said

That hope is the daughter of merit. And one can have
Fine hopes by having merits that are fine.

Hi. : When you wish to win merit with a man who has
None, you lose your own.

Adh. : It's enough to have done your duty.

*Carm. archil.
trim. iamb. achat.*

Adherbal, Hiensal et Phytonissa

- Adh.* : Et quid soluto crine, nudo pectore
Scissaque Phytonissa veste cursitat?
Quid se furore concitat? Quid igneos
Obvolvitur oculos atque murmurans tumet?
330 En ut repente quasi obviis exterrita
Umbris grave infestis propere haerens loco
Vim ponit irarum atque conatus fremens.
- Phyt.* : Heuhoe.
- Hi.* : Ut inter clamitandum obmutuit
Truculenta, ut introrsus renitens faucibus
335 Verba negat, ut sese premens totis simul
Exaestuans membrisque nervisque attremuit,
Ut torpet, ut modo pone subvertit solo
Obliqua lumina, modo subrepta altius
Cervice torvos erigit vultus. Papae!
- Phyt.* : Hio Libes miserae, Libes miserae, Libes
Matresque nurusque miserae, complete, hio,
Complete silvas atque montes planctibus.
Te, te quidem cerno Tyrmidam impiam.
Tu male latentem clave adultera necas,
345 Et te tridentem, una resecta cuspidē,
Male in duas findi hinc et inde dissides
Partis video. Tu Cyrtha profugum, he he, tuo
Profugum, tuo haud gremio satis servas diu.
Stat ales Evandri atque rostro et unguibus
350 Libicos male exturbat gravi nidos lue.

v. 338 subrecta, B.

v. 350 lue : strage, BP (*contra metrum!*).

v. 327 Phytonissa : mediaeval form of the biblical word Pythonissa, a female diviner. See Vulgate, *Paralipom.*, I x.13.

v. 343 Tyrnida (Thirnida) is the name of the Numidian town where Hiempsal was murdered. Cf. Sallust, *Jug.*, 12.3, where also the story of the "clavis adultera" is told.

v. 347 Cyrtha (Cirta) : when Adherbal fled to this town, Jugurtha laid siege to it. Adherbal surrendered to Jugurtha and was killed. Cf. Sallust, *Jug.*, 21-26.

v. 349 Ales Evandri = the Roman eagle.

Adherbal, Hiensal, Pythoness

- Adh.* : Why does the Pythoness run around, her hair
Disheveled, her breast all bare, her gown ripped up?
Why is she frenzied? Why does she roll her bloody
Eyes about and swell with mutterings?
See how suddenly, as though frightened by quite
Aggressive ghosts, she stops quite still and lays
Aside her wrath and frenzy, though she groans.
- Pyth.* : Alas!
- Hi.* : See how in the midst of her furious shouts
She's hushed, how struggling with herself she denies
Words to her mouth, how clutching herself she sweats
And trembles in every limb and sinew, how
She's sluggish, how now she trains her downcast eyes
Upon the ground, now she lifts her neck a bit
And turns on us her savage looks. O woe!
- Pyth.* : O wretched women of Libya, wretched Libyan
Women, wretched Libyan mothers and brides!
O fill, O fill the forests and hills with laments!
You, you, I see, you wretched Thirmida.
You slay the poorly hidden with a key
You've forged. You, O trident, I see with one
Of your prongs lopped off and the rest of you split down
The middle in two antagonistic parts.
You, Cirta, protect the exile alas, alas,
Not long enough within your safe precincts.
There stands the bird of Evander and with its beak
And claws it causes grave destruction in
The nests of Libya. Alas, you are soaked, O Zama,
By showers of blood. You smile no longer, you
Vaccian youth, when the third day dawns. With flames,
O Thala, do you create your final darkness.
Then, Capsa, you yield your golden claws to the bird.
Unhappy with your snails, Mulucha, the sun
Obscures the fleeting night with his brilliant rays.
And you, preserved by the theft of a letter, do not
Have faith, do not have faith in your fathers' host.
Apollo forbids me to say any more on this

- Heu, Zama, purpureis madescis imbribus;
 Vaccea pubes, tertio haud rides die.
 Igne tibi, Tala, facis tenebras ultimas.
 Capsa, aureos tum reddis ungues aliti
 355 Et tibi, Mulucha, non cocleis laetus tuis
 Noctem iubare fuscant alacrem Thytan suo.
 Et tu ipse, quem subrepta servat littera,
 Ne crede, ne crede veteri athavorum hospiti.
 Plura vetat hac in parte Phoebus proloqui
 360 Sed fata summum denique exsuperant Iovem.
Adh. : O plena numine, cui futura Phitius
 Ordine aperit, si precibus ullis flecteris,
 Nostros aperte iam edoce casus precor.
 Quo liceat evitasse per te, aut fortiter
 365 Subiisse praevisum imminens quicquid mali est.
Phyt. : Euhoe, nefandus livor infernas agit
 Res pessime, ingrediens eburna vortices
 Stigios sub afflatu usque concretos dedit
 In marmor, Athletoque atque ipse mutuis
 370 Utrinque Gorgoneis venenis obsiti
 Sese efferunt in rabiem, et interior stupet
 Tartarea sedes ac tumultu contremittit,
 Stridoreque ululatuque latrans Cerberus
 Cedit metu. Quin rex et infernus metu
 375 Una tyranno colla subclinat novo.
 Novumque sontibus additum est poenae genus.
 Sibi quisque tormentum alterius optet magis,
 Heuhoe Libes, matresque nurusque heu Libes.
- v. 369 Alectoque, P.
 v. 351 For the battle at Zama between Marius and Jugurtha see Sallust, *Jug.*, 56-61.
 v. 352 Vaccea pubes : the insurrection of the Numidian town Vaga was suppressed by the Romans after two days : Sallust, *Jug.*, 66-69.
 v. 353 T(h)ala : the town where Jugurtha kept his treasure. When the Romans occupied the town, they found the palace set on fire and all the people dead : Sallust, *Jug.*, 75-76.
 v. 356 The destruction of Capsa is told by Sallust, *Jug.*, 89.4-91.
 v. 355 How snails caused the capture of a stronghold near the Muluccha river can be read in Sallust, *Jug.*, 92.5-94.
 v. 357-358 The story of the stolen letter is told by Sallust, *Jug.*, 71. "Tu" is Jugurtha, "hospes" is Bomilcar.

But the fates at last do conquer Jupiter.
Adh. : O filled with the godhead, to whom Apollo reveals
 The future in sequence, if prayers have any power
 To bend you, I beg you now to tell us clearly
 Our fortune, so we may either escape with your help
 Or bravely endure whatever impending evil
 You see.

Pyth. Alas, outrageous Envy wreaks havoc
 In hell. It entered by the ivory gate
 And with its breath turned the Styx to stone.
 Alecto and it go mad as each attacks
 The other with the venom of their snakes.
 Within, the land of Tartarus lies amazed
 And trembles with the tumult, with hisses
 And barks and growls Cerberus retires in fear.
 Nay, even the lord of Hell submits his neck
 In fear to this new tyrant, and a new
 Sort of suffering has been added to
 The guilty. Now each would rather have the other's
 Torment. Alas, you Libyan mothers and brides.

Chorus

Whoever first determined
 To fashion man, observed
 The visages of the gods
 And then with skillful hands
 Created his face, well nigh divine.
 From shining Phoebus, then,
 He stole his golden hair,
 A noble, noble theft.
 When he sensed that man expelled
 The darkness with his rays
 And burned with seething
 Flames, as in a lofty
 Citadel he placed his eyes
 Beneath his brow and put
 The heat in his breast,
 A good distance away.

Chorus

<i>Archilogicum</i>		Hominem quisquis condere primus
	380	Statuit, vultus oraque divûm
		Contemplatus faciem finxit
		Arte manuque prope divinam,
<i>Asclep. coriamb.</i>		Tum crinem nitido surpuit aureum
<i>Archilogicum</i>		Phoebo, nobile nobile furtum.
<i>Saph. troch.</i>	385	Hunc ubi sensit radiis tenebras
<i>Exam. hero.</i>		Pellere et flammis coquere aestuosus
		Arce velut celsa lucem sub fronte locavit
		Fervoremque procul subter praecordia adegit.
<i>Saph. troch.</i>		Hoc opus quidam superi ut moveri,
	390	Ut frui vita simul intuentur,
		Forsan, ut fama est, operi invidentes
		Ne novus terris deus et colonus
		Viveret, morbos varios dedere.
<i>Archilogicum</i>		Urunt etenim frigora et aestus
	395	Siccisque sitis faucibus haeret
		Ventremque fames improba mordet
		Sternit et hunc febrisque dolorque.
		Hinc sollicito pectore factus
<i>Adonicum</i>		Odit amatve.
<i>Archilogicum</i>	400	Et sic aestu rapitur rerum
		Ut continuo verbere turbo.
<i>Saph. tro.</i>		At laboranti hic opifex misertus
<i>Exam. hero.</i>		Aegrum si quando torrent incendia pectus
<i>Gliconicum</i>		Extingui dedit alveo
<i>Adonicum</i>	405	In pegaseo.
<i>Archilogicum</i>		Sed nos miseri mente proterva
		In scelus acti labimur ultro.
		Hinc aerumnis premimur crebris.

v. 382 Arteque manu, R.

v. 383 surripuit, P.

v. 405 Impegaseo, R.

v. 408 crebis, R.

v. 404-405 The mythological horse Pegasus stamped the poets' source Hippocrene out of the earth with his hoof.

Some gods when they saw this work
Both move and enjoy its life,
Perhaps, as the story goes,
Were envious of it.
To keep the earth from having
A new divinity and lord,
They gave him several ills.
For freezes and heats consume him
And thirst makes dry his mouth
And cruel hunger gnaws
At his belly. Both fever
And sorrow lay him low.
His breast grows worried and he
Hates or loves.
And so by the surge of life
He is swept along, just like
A top forever lashed.
The creator then took pity
On his troubled creature.
If conflagration burn
His breast, he allowed them
To be extinguished
In Hippocrene.
But wretched as we are,
We are driven by our evil minds
To sin and fall of our own accord.
So we are oppressed by constant griefs.
So life is hateful to us.
So there is always a reason
For us to regret our misdeeds.
And always as the hours
Pass by new causes for alarm
Press down upon our backs.
Can you not, Hiensal, assign
This doleful fortune of yours
To your own character? Don't you know
That, as in the case of fire,
The flame of provocative wrath
Enkindles the spirit and wrath

- Hinc est nobis vita molesta.
 410 Hinc est aliquid semper ubi nos
Gliconicum Acti poeniteat mali,
Archilologicum Atque et nobis semper in horas
 Novus incumbat trepidis casus.
Saph. troch. Tune fortunam poteris, Hiensal,
 415 His tuam tristem tibi non dedisse
 Moribus? Scisne ut novus ignis igne,
 Sic et ex flamma petulantis irae
 Iam lacessitos animos et ira
Adonicum Surgere contra?
Saph. troch. 420 Impetum frena male mentis actae.
 Disce ne nolis tibi quaeque possis.
Archilologicum Vinces alios, te modo vincas.
 Tibi eris qualem statues ipse.

QUARTUS ACTUS

Car. arch. trim.
iamb. achat.

Iugurta

- Iug. :* Iuppiter ab alto cuncta prospectans polo,
 425 Vosque veteris Manes Masinissae pii,
 Quibus parentandum bonis a me reor
 Studiis et ad laudem quoque aemulo gradu,
 Vosque patrii obtestor dii et deae Libes,
 Non sponte me haec animo sed invitum mihi
 430 Contra impios regnique consortes datos
 Sumpsisse odia. Sed evenit id usu quidem
 Ut sole pix quae liquitur, eadem ab aestibus
 Itemque itemque usta evitrescat horrida.
 Sic et virorum saepius animi exciti
 435 Iniuriis, inviti inhorrescunt heheu.
 Aude invidum domesticumque hostem tuum
 Hostem putare. Piumque ducito fore
 Tuae referre dignitati quicquid im-

- v. 421 ne : nec, R.
 v. 424 prospectaris, R.
 v. 432 pax quae loquitur, R.

Of the other against you?
 Impose a curb upon your mind,
 So misdirected. Learn not to want
 As much as you can have.
 You'll conquer others once you've
 Conquered yourself.
 You'll be what you make yourself.

FOURTH ACT

Jugurtha

Jug. : Jupiter, all-seeing from the heights of heaven,
 And you sacred shade of ancient Masinissa,
 Who should be venerated by me, I believe,
 By noble pursuits and zealously praised, and you,
 Ancestral gods and goddesses of Libya,
 I swear by you that it has not been in
 Accord with my will but quite against it that
 I have begun to hate these impious men
 Who share the throne with me. But usually
 It happens, like pitch that is melted by the sun,
 If it is burnt again and again by the heat,
 It turns quite nasty and pale, just so the spirits
 Of men provoked too often by injuries
 Unwillingly begin to bristle at them,
 Alas. Now dare to think your envious
 Domestic enemy your enemy,
 And hold it proper to your dignity
 Whatever punishment you may inflict
 Upon these impious and reckless youths,

- Piis et improbis merentibus inferas.
- 440 Semperne perferemus hoc, ut qui modis
 Nos omnibus laedere per invidiam parent
 Non sui aliquando iure paeniteat nefas?
 Nunquamne te tot atque tantis obrutum
 Iniuriis, Iugurta, te ostendes virum?
- 445 Nunquamne te posse aliquid in petulantium
 Protervitatem proferes? Livor scelus.
 Aude, anime, superis non vetantibus diis,
 Eumque praesta te virum, qualem solet
 Armatus hostis metuere. An te forsitan
- 450 Ignobili editum parente scilicet
 Fastidiunt procures? Sumus cuncti a Iove.
 Sed mea perinde me satis virtus foveat
 Satisque, quisquis ille sit, sibimet genus
 Dignum parat, quem victor orbis comprobet
- 455 Populus. Mea haec laus atque nobilitas mea est.
 Non id meum est sed patris Hiensal dedecus,
 Si dedecus, talem edidisse filium,
 Qualem Micipsa, si rogetur, liberum
 Quam quos habet multo editum malit sibi.
- 460 At vero ego patre proinde non certo satos
 Arbitror eos, qui tam impares se pristinis
 Nostrae familiae moribus nunc praebeant.
 Uter Masinissae est avo similis magis,
 Illine qui superbia atque ignavia
- 465 Degunt iuventam, an et Iugurta? qui quidem
 His artibus quibus imperium avus nactus est,
 Pridem integrum Libicum merebar unicus?
 Meam ego meo labore partam gloriam
 Nostrae ad familiae contuli certum decus.
- 470 Illi hunc perisse optant virum cuius micat
 Splendore domus, omnis et honos titulis nitet.

- v. 447 animae, P.
 v. 451 Fastiunt, R.
 v. 470 micat *om.* P.
 v. 471 Miratur splendore ..., P.

Deserving as they are of punishment.
 Or shall we always endure the way in which
 Those who are trying in every way to harm
 Us by envy are never made to regret their crime?
 Shall you never, Jugurtha, show yourself a man,
 Afflicted by so many injuries?
 Shall you never reveal that you can take a stand
 Against the baseness of these petulant youths?
 A sin is envy. Be daring, my soul: the gods
 Above do not forbid your action. Show
 Yourself the kind of man feared by the foe,
 Armed though he be. Perhaps these lords look down
 Upon your birth to a base-born mother? We
 Are all from Jove. My virtue, then, is what
 Supports me enough, and whoever a man may be,
 He provides himself a worthy lineage,
 If the people that has conquered the world
 Approves of him. This is my praise and this
 Is my nobility. The shame is not mine,
 But my father's, Hiensal, if shame it be to have sired
 Such a son, whom Micipsa, if he had been asked, would
 have picked

In preference to the sons he had. But I,
 Indeed, believe that they were sired by some
 One else: they show themselves so utterly
 Deficient now in the ancient ways of our
 Family. Who is more like Masinissa,
 Our grandfather — those who waste their youth
 In arrogance and laziness or Jugurtha,
 Who has already with those arts by which
 Our grandfather won the realm alone
 Deserved to hold the whole of Libya?
 The glory I have achieved by my own toils
 I have contributed to the lasting splendor
 Of our family. They want this man to die,
 By whose brilliance our home is ablaze; its dignity is
 Resplendent with his honors. But, as they say,
 Do what you do with all your might. Meanwhile,
 It will please me to mask my plans with stratagems.

Verum, ut aiunt, quod agas agito pro viribus.
Iuvabit interim artibus subfingere.

Polimites et Hamo

- Pol.* : Regni labes est principum discordia.
Hamo : Cum principes ipsi mali sint, id boni
 Optent.
Pol. : Bene usquam nulla successit bonis
 Res, quae ocium perturbet inde publicum.
Hamo : Si dura tempora fuerint et principes
 Ipsi mali rem publicam gerant male,
 480 Quis audeat praestare se civem bonum?
Pol. : Quisquis bonum sese esse civem quam vide-
 Ri malit, ad bene agendum habet semper bona
 Is ipse tempora et homo frugi, quisquis est,
 Sibi unico haud duos putet eos principes,
 485 Quos et populus omnis ferat.
Hamo : Suo in malo
 Nemo quidem luget aliorum lacrimis.
 Quaeque mala sunt muta, atque mox fient bona.
Pol. : Erunt bona ipsos quaeque delectant bonos.
 Hoc ego nihil placere placatis scio
 490 Civibus et intimis dolere probos ani-
 Mis, regulos gaza atque sedibus ocus
 Sectis temere et abisse diversos locis.
Hamo : Qui dissident animis, eadem aegre queunt
 Umbra tegi.
Pol. : Ni aliquo tenentur invicem
 495 Animi usque vinculo, haud cohaerent insimul.
 Tum si Iugurtam, si satis novi virum,
 Tandem is vereor ne quid ferus acerbi paret.
 Stat frons eius vultusque pallentes gravi
 Cura igneoque furore suffusae genae.

v. 473 artibus subfingere : simulasse id artibus, BP.
 v. 481 Quisquis bonum : Quis bonus, R.
 v. 492 et om. VP (*contra metrum*).
 vv. 496-502 *Hamoni tribuit P.*

Polimites and Hamo

- Pol.* : Discordant princes bring ruin to a realm.
- Hamo* : When princes are evil themselves, good men may hope for
that.
- Pol.* : Whatever disturbs the public peace, has never
Turned out well for the good.
- Hamo* : If the times are hard
And evil princes badly govern the realm,
Who would dare to seem a good citizen?
- Pol.* : He who prefers to be a good citizen
Rather than to seem to be one, always has
An opportunity to do the good. The man of worth will not
Consider those princes harsh on him alone
If they are borne by all the people.
- Hamo* : No
One ever weeps in his own distress with others'
Tears. Change whatever's bad and soon it's good.
- Pol.* : Whatever delights the good will then be good.
I know that this will please no men of peace
And that the honest will grieve within their hearts
To see the youthful kings so quickly
Divide their treasure and their palaces,
So rashly then depart to separate places.
- Hamo* : When men are hostile in their minds, they hardly
Can sit beneath the same tree's shade.
- Pol.* : Unless
They're linked together by some bonds of the spirit,
They do not adhere the one to the other. Then
If I know Jugurtha, if I know this man
At all, I fear that he is fierce and planning
A dreadful deed. His brow and face are pale
With heavy care, his cheeks suffused with the fires
Of fury. What evil he's plotting in the depths
Of his mind lies hidden, nor is it by chance
That he's been murmuring and shaking his unkempt hair.
- Hamo* : When men are endowed with depth of mind, deep thoughts
They always revolve and determine in their minds.

500 Latet quid alta mente subvolvat mali.
 Neque temere illud est quod impexam comam
 Secum ipse iam tum immurmurans quassat suam.

Hamo : Animo ubi sunt alto viri usque praediti
 Semper animis secum alta versant ac parant.

505 Sperasseque et de fortibus viris bene
 Multo magis quam metuere satis condecet.
 Proinde privati domum curent suam,
 Rem publicam reges suo curent gradu.

Chorus

Archilogicum

Fatane rerum inconstansque dea
 510 An magis hominum segnis ratio
 Ita mortalibus ocia turbat?
 Utrum haec Libiae regia et armis
 Et opum luxu nobilis aula
 Hanc usque diem clara per orbem
 515 Ultro et fato et sorte suapte
 An hominum vi ruet ab imo?
 Ortane levis haec odii flamma
 Inter procures, inter fratres
 Irae tantos exciit ignes?
 520 An hinc sumpta Superi causa
 Instituerunt penitus Libiae
 Invisam sibi perdere gentem?
 Te altitonantis, te Iuno Iovis
 Soror et coniunx, cui res Libiae
 525 Cordi aeternum credimus esse,
 Te et Getuleae Mavors veteris
 Masinissae simul invoco alumnum,
 Bene et o omnes diique deaeque,
 Quaeque parantur vertice scelera,
 530 Impendentem tollite diram
 Fortunam, neu tam adeo sinite
 Conscelerari pia delubra,

And it is proper to have high hopes for the brave
Instead of fearing them. So let the private
Citizen tend to his home and kings to the state.

Chorus

Is it fate and the goddess inconstant
Or rather the torpid mind of man
That so disturbs the rest of mortals?
This royal palace of Libya,
Renowned for arms and opulence
Throughout the world until this day,
Will it fall by fate, its destiny,
Or by the violence of men?
This little flame of hate that's risen
Among the lords, among the brothers,
Does it excite such fires of wrath?
Have the gods decided completely
To destroy the Libyan race, by them
Detested, and is this but a pretext?
You, sister and wife of Jupiter,
Who thunders on high, Juno, to whom
We believe that Libya is ever a care,
And you, Getulean Mars, the favorite
Of ancient Masinissa, I invoke
You, too, and also all you gods
And goddesses, there are crimes
Being plotted on high.
Remove the dreadful fortune
That hangs above us, do not allow
Your holy shrines, fires, and altars,
As well as your temples to be polluted
By the frenzies of those who are raging
Against each other with sword and blazing slaughter.
And you inexperienced youths,
Stop injuring that brave man,
For from the sea's still surge
There will burst a savage storm.
And you, Jugurtha, pride of Libya,

- Ignes, aras, vestraque tecta
 Furiis, ferro, caede cruenta
 535 Inter sese turpe furentum.
 Vosque expertes rerum iuvenes
 Desinite virum laedere fortem
 Namque ex surdo pelagi fluctu
 Vis erumpet saeva procellae.
 540 Et tu Libiae Iugurta decus,
 Te et virtutem et fortia facta
 Ad consilium protinus adde,
 Ut quo clipeo pectoris olim
 Regnum et laudem clarus inisti,
 545 Hoc ipso etiam et gentem et famam
 Illaesam tibi patiens serves.
 Gravia in castris Marteque saevo
 Passum atque hostem ferre furentem
 Suetum, levibus levium offensis
 550 Iuvenum dedecet acre moveri.
 Aspera primum nosse subire, est
 Regia virtus, regia virtus.
 Satus Alcmena caelum didicit
 Petere et gravia et multa ferendo.
 555 Quin et Iuppiter ipse tacendo
 Quam terribili fulmine quasso
 Grandia solus longe exequitur.
 Perfer igitur pectore duro.
 Perfer dum mox monitu divûm
 560 Secum indoleant impia facta
 Iuvenes. Nihil est certius usquam,
 Nihil adnixum magis est rebus
 Quam ut peniteat quenque admissi.
 Perfer, siquidem deerit nusquam
 565 Ne quem lateat quanto stomacho
 Etiam possis ipse moveri.

- v. 535 ferentum, R.
 v. 547 morteque, B.
 v. 560 facta : fata P.
 v. 563 quemque : quenquam, BP.
 v. 566 Etiam : Et, R.
 v. 553 Satus Alcmena = Hercules.

At once to your counsel add
Yourself, your virtue, your valiant deeds.
With that shield upon your breast,
With which you once achieved renown
And shed luster upon the realm,
You should preserve your fame
And your people uninjured
By being patient.
In the camp and ruthless war
You have endured great hardships
And learned to confront the raging foe,
You should not be terribly disturbed
By the idle insults of idle youths.
To know how to endure adversity
Is the first lesson for royal virtue,
For royal virtue. Alcmena's son
Learned how to climb to heaven
By enduring many dreadful trials.
Nay, even Jupiter remains still
While with his dreadful thunderbolt
Alone he achieves great deeds afar.
Endure then with a hardy breast,
Endure, since soon by the warning
Of the gods, the youths
Will repent of their evil deeds.
Nothing is ever more certain,
Nothing is more inherent
To life than that a man repents
Of his crime. Endure, since there
Will never be anyone who will
Not know how enraged you are.

QUINTUS ACTUS

*Carm. archil.
trim. iamb. achat.*

Polimites, Chorus, et Nuntius

- Pol.* : Metus an dolor vexet magis mortalium
Animos, apud me non quidem constat satis.
Ita me vel invitum novae deûm minae
570 Exterritum ante ora positae longe premunt.
- Chorus* : O Polimites, o et interpres deûm,
Quid est quod apportas novi?
- Pol.* : Libiae luem,
Si qua est malis adhibenda portentis fides.
- Chorus* : Virtute consilioque praestans ac potens,
575 Similis tibi vir frontem ubi suam gravem
Portendit, arduas adesse res liquet.
- Pol.* : O patria, patria. Sicne sacrarum aedium
Insigne culmen turbine avulsum ruit?
Ex ultimo aenei colossi vertice
580 Lateque fuseque albicantes ignium
Arsere flammae. Fertur et formiceis
Populis vagis horrere pulvinar deûm.
Ruptisque vinclis taurus excepto fugax
Cervice ferro cessit ex ara petens
585 Cruore sparsos regios iuvenes suo.
Quin etiam Hiensal ipse prodiens domo
Pollice sub illiso moleste limiti
Faciem in suam pronus propere lapsus gemit.
Incendiariaque avis alta a porticu
590 Volitans patrum simulacra polluit aurea.
- Nunt.* : Accursito ut vatem deûmque interpretem
Nunc certiozem Polimitem de novis
Mirisque rebus ordine faciam celer.
- Pol.* : Meliora superi.

- v. 586 etiam : et, P.
v. 587 illisso, B.
v. 588 gemuit, B.
v. 589 Incendiacriaque, R.
v. 591 Acursito, B.

FIFTH ACT

Polimites, Chorus, Messenger

- Pol. :* I am not certain whether sorrow or fear
Has greater power to distress men's souls.
So these new threats from the gods, apparent to
My eyes have long both worried and frightened me.
- Chorus :* O Polimites, O spokesman for the gods,
What news do you bring us?
- Pol. :* The ruin of Libya
If any faith is assigned to evil portents.
- Chorus :* When a man, in virtue and wisdom great and strong
Like you, shows forth a serious brow,
It's clear to us that dreadful events impend.
- Pol. :* My country, my country. In this way does the famed
Roof of your temples collapse, torn off by a storm?
There blazed forth, far and wide, white flames of fire
From the very top of the bronze colossus,
And it is said that the couch of the gods is alive
With busy ants. A bull, the axe already
In his neck, broke loose and fled the altar to seek
The royal youths and sprinkle them with his gore.
Nay, Hiensal, too, as he left his house
Stubbed his toe grievously on the path and fell
On his face and wept. The fire-bird, flying from
The lofty porch, has polluted the golden busts
Of our sires.
- Mess. :* I hasten to inform the priest
And spokesman for the gods, Polimites,
Of the new and strange events, in their order.
- Pol. :* The gods grant better omens.
- Mess. :* Unheard of things
I must report.
- Pol. :* Bad goes with bad.
- Mess. :* It's best
For us to die, O Polimites.
- Pol. :* How so?

- Nunt.* : Res inauditas fero.
- Pol.* : Malo malum congruit.
- Nunt.* : At emori expedit,
O Polimites.
- Pol.* : Quid ita?
- Nunt.* : Tanta nos mala
Coram obsident.
- Pol.* : Imo et quidem vel maxime
Superesse nunc expedit, ut inde vincere
Malum ferendo denique assuescas magis.
- Nunt.* : O te virum fortem, ipse si factis tibi
Aeque atque dictis es.
- Pol.* : Etenim ex dictis probe
Egisse discimus. At quid apportas novi?
- Nunt.* : Iras deum, nam busta patrum regia
Sanctaque sepulchra sponte aperta ex ultimis
605 Imisque sedibus usque tertii Iovis
Dedere gemitum ac iurgio altercarier
Circum theatra larvulas visas ferunt.
En et sacelli veteris obversas fores
Lemures tenere, Laremque regium deum
610 Crepitu strepentique sonitu triclinia
Cuncta labefactare atque mixtim sedibus
Ultro citro mutatis penates propalam
Migrasse multaue alia tetra atque horrida
Et visa et audita optimi patres ferunt.
- Pol.* : Vos quaeso me, o proceres, labans ne corruam
Tenete; ruo, ruo. Quippe spiritus fugit,
Totumque nervi animique deficiunt. Humi
Consternor et oculi et genua fluunt simul.
Tantus dolor metusve me rerum tenet.
- Nunt.* : Hinc illud est, O Polimites, quod solet
Dici: viros doctos, ut es tu, fortiter
De rebus asperis ferendis dicere,

v. 598 inde: modo, BP.

v. 615 o me, R.

v. 605 Tertius Iupiter = Pluto (Hades).

- Mess.* : So many ills assail us.
- Pol.* : But that's the reason
Why you should most of all survive, so that
By bearing evils you may now become
Accustomed to victory.
- Mess.* : O stalwart man,
If you are so good in your deeds as you are in your words.
- Pol.* : From words we learn how we should behave. What news?
- Mess.* : The wrath of the gods, for now the royal graves
Of the fathers and the holy sepulchers
Have opened on their own; from their very depths,
From Hades itself, they groaned; they say that ghosts
Have been seen in conflict around the theaters.
And lo! the opposite doors of the ancient shrine
Are held by spooks; the royal household god
With a banging and a crashing sound has overturned
All the couches and helter-skelter in broad
Daylight the penates have left their abode and moved
Away and many other foul and fright-
Ful sights and sounds are reported by our sires.
- Pol.* : I beg you, O nobles, support me lest I fall.
I'm falling, I'm falling. My spirit flies away.
My strength and breath have failed me. I lie upon
The ground, my eyes awash, my knees all weak.
Such sorrow or fear of the future possesses me.
- Mess.* : This is the reason, Polimites, that men
Are wont to say that learned men like you
Speak bravely about enduring adversity
But then can't do as well as other men
In actually enduring it. But come,
What do you think that we should go and do?
- Pol.* : I think that the gods should be quickly placated with
prayers.
The temples should be cleansed, a hol-
Iday declared, where possible, in the cities.
And now I'm leaving to dress myself in sa-
Cred linen. Follow me. Suppliants move the gods.

Nescisse tamen adversa sicuti caeteri
 Homines solent, non ferre tandem molliter.
 625 Verum quid est quod pro re agendum censeas?
Pol. : Votis deos mox esse placandos reor.
 Lustranda passim templa. Iustitium urbibus
 Ubilibet indicendum et inde ego hinc simul
 Secedo, me quo linteis sacris parem.
 630 Vos et sequimini. Supplices movent deos.

*Carm. arch. trim.
 iamb. achat.*

Discordia et Perfidia

Disc. : Confecta pulchre res mihi ex sententia est.
 Nam me Invidia mater Herebo accitam ultimo
 Complexa dudum et suavio libans suo,
 “O, inquit, omne O unicum decus meum,
 635 Discordia, modo praebeas te ipsam mihi
 Facilem atque morigeram; opus est ad id rei
 Quam dignitatis gratia meae paro.
 Genus hoc enim Numidiae et tumidum et ferox
 Et insolens odi. Id quidem cum caeteras
 640 Ob res tum eo quod Ambitio dea quam unice
 Perisse cupio a se recepta splendidis
 Colitur honoribus, aureo praestans gradu.
 Proinde decretum est apud me funditus
 Delere gentem. Fuerit officium tuum
 645 Matri obsequi praesertim in hac causa mea.
 Qua, si sit opus, equidem et mori, ut tandem meo
 Satis furori fiat, audens expetam”.
 Haec ubi parens me mea precatur lacrimans,
 Per Styga, per infernas paludes, per grave
 650 Pallentis atrae noctis horrendum caput
 Iuravi et obstrinxi volens pro viribus
 Me prorsus acturam, mea ut noscat parens
 Quid ego sibi a me iure deberi putem,
 Quidve artibus meis in hominum denique

v. 628 inde : modo, BP.
 v. 634 omne : omen, P.
 v. 640 dea : *om.* R.

Discord and Perfidy

Disc. : My task has been quite prettily performed.
 For Envy, my mother, summoned me from the pit
 Of Hades, embraced me with kisses, and said :
 “O my one and only glory, Discord, if only
 You prove to be courteous and kind to me.
 I need your help in a matter which I pursue
 For self-respect. I loathe this Numidian race,
 So swollen, so fierce, so arrogant for other
 Reasons, too, but most of all because
 The Goddess Ambition, whom I especially
 Wish to destroy, has been received by them,
 Is worshipped with splendid ceremonies, as
 She sits pre-eminent upon her golden dais.
 So I’ve determined utterly to destroy
 This people. Let your duty be to serve
 Your mother in this affair of mine as though
 The stakes were death itself, so that my wrath
 May find its satisfaction. Daring will be
 My pursuit”. With tears my mother made this request
 And by the Styx, by all the lakes of Hell,
 And by the dreadful, heavy head of night,
 At once so pale and dark, I swore and bound
 Myself of my own accord that I would do
 As much as I could so that my mother would know
 How much I thought I owed her, how much the arts
 Of Discord could sow disaster among mankind.
 So from the recesses of Orcus I’ve brought
 These dread companions to perform this dire
 Misdeed. I’ve used them as they’ve wandered here
 And there and filled the fields and houses far
 And wide with frenzy and awful destruction. But lo!
 See how yon Perfidy is ready for crime.
 Do you see how her wiles, her brow, her face, her manner
 Display her utter piety? She’s garbed
 In golden rainbows, but underneath she’s armed
 With a sword, with fire and evil poison. With guile
 She gradually wins over the flocks of men.

- 655 Possim luem Discordia. Ergo ex abdito
 Orco mihi socios truces ad horridum
 Coexequendum facinus eductos agens
 Exercui ac passim palantes late agros
 Tectaque furore et pessima opplevi lue.
- 660 Sed ecce Perfidia uti prona est ad scelus.
 Viden quibus sese dolis, qua fronte, quo
 Vultu atque gestu penitus ostentat piam?
 En iri obindutam aurea ferro igneque
 Malo et veneno subter armatam deam;
- 665 Quae quidem hominum sensim per astum ambit greges.
Perf. : Quae facto opus fuere belle exegimus.
 Nam res eo ducta est loci ut satellites
 Noctu Iugurtae in Hiensalis domum dolis
 Irruperint illhicque diversi ocus
- 670 Regem frequentes quaeritant, internecant.
 Alii obsccitantis dormientisque obvios
 Omnis et impetu et mucrone competunt,
 Mactant et inversos tenus sternunt solo.
 Scrutari et alii abdita, alii diffringere
- 675 Clausa loca non cessant, domusque omnis simul
 Cadentium gemitu et fragore et aspero
 Plagis tumultu exterrita intus volvitur.
 Tandem repertum Hiensalem opprimunt, caput
 Ferro amputant. Res hunc igitur acta in modum est.
- 680 Ego nunc et ad comites revertor ut exequar
 Ex instituto reliqua, ut hinc et pleniùs
 Vestram libidinem expleam. Adducam mihi
 Et Inopiam et Furtum et Rapinam concitas,
 Quarum opera huic calamitas genti magis
- 685 Magisque dura sit.
- Disc. :* Ergo matura.

- v. 655 luem : stragem, B.
 v. 662 obstentat, R.
 v. 663 ferto, R.
 v. 671 oscitantis, PR.
 v. 674 diffringere, B.
 v. 676 gemitu et : gemitu cum, R.
 v. 685 Obsequar, P.

Perf. : Obsequor.
Disc. : Ego vero ad Invidiam parentem pervolo.

Carm. archil.
trim. iamb. achat.

Phenissa, Phitonissa, Matronae, Nuntii duo

Phen. : Ite hio, matronae, et sacrum et opacum in nemus
 Hio demus hunc celebrem simul Bacho diem.
 Hio Bache, formosae hio matronae hio,
 690 Tu flamen aerae Tonantis coniugi,
 Matri deum tu, Galle, plaudito Cybeli.
 Vos et pudicae virgines mecum Libes
 Patrios deos placate votis thureque,
 Quatite hio thyrsos, quatite pulchro deo.
 695 Simul hio matronae, hio Bache inclyte.
Phit. : Hio Libes, Libes, hio parens, parens,
 Ditique Manibusque litandum tibi.
Matr. : Ferule Phytonissae abigite omen dei.
Phen. : Quid penditis matronae? Agite Bacho diem.
 700 Sacrum agite festum, hio agite Bacho diem.
Phit. : Hio Libes, hio Libes, miserae Libes,
 Ululatibus luctuque complenda est dies.
Phen. : Me miseram! Id omen horridum quemnam petit?
Nunt. : Qui nuntium prout fertur apportat malum,
 705 Is commodus eciam si eat molestus est.
 Quid inde agam nescio, ne vero non feram
 Nati ad parentem immane discrimen sui?
 Ut siquid opis habet peroccurrat malis.
Matr. : Et quid is Hiensalis haesitans venit puer?
Nunt. : Tibi filium gravi in periculo nuntio,
 O mater, esse. Namque noctu vi aedium
 Fractis foribus intro satellites globis
 Quaque inruentes vulnere et caede et lue
 Totam penitus Hiensalis vexant domum.

v. 691 Matre, P.

v. 699 “Penditis *pro* pendetis” : V *in* *margin*e *addit*.

v. 700 om. P.

v. 703 horridum : orrendum, R.

v. 704 nuntium : nuptium, R.

v. 706 inde : modo, BP.

v. 713 lue : strage, B (*contra metrum*).

- Phen.* : Why do you delay, you matrons? Celebrate
The feast of Bacchus, celebrate, celebrate his feast, the feast of Bacchus, Euhoe!
- Pyth.* : Euhoe, you Libyans, euhoe! you wretched Libyans!
The day should be filled with howls of grief and sadness.
- Phen.* : O woe is me! That awful omen points
To someone.
- Mess.* : As it is said, the man who bears
Bad news, however pleasant he may be,
Brings pain. What I should do, I do not know.
Should I tell his mother of her son's unbounded
Disaster so that, if she has any strength,
She may endure, she may survive these griefs?
- Matr.* : Why does Hiensal's servant come so slowly?
- Mess.* : My message is that your son is in serious peril,
O mother, for by night some servants broke
Down the doors by force and rushed into the house
In groups; they've filled it all with wounds, with slaughter,
And gore. The stairs are slippery and running
With rivers of blood, and everywhere the house
Resounds with clangor and shouts; it groans to see
The black destruction of its inhabitants.
But still the gods are not as angry as they
Might be — Hiensal has escaped from the heaps
Of the fallen. In these circumstances you
Should put your grief and fear aside and think
About yourself.
- Matr.* : O wretched mother, but lo!
Another of Hiensal's intimates.
He seems to be hastening and quite concerned.
- Mess.* : O the conduct of this age! Does brother thus
Contrive his brother's death? O citizens,
Where, where will trust be found? Where now among
Mankind is piety, if the laws do not preserve
This blood-relationship? But you, most wretched
Of mothers, whence will you begin or end
Your bitter grief?
- Matr.* : What are your evil tidings?
- Mess.* : Alas! Jugurtha has slain my lord with his sword.

- 715 Stant lubrici undantesque scalarum omnium
 Cruore fuso alte gradus ac undique
 Strepitu atque fremitu tecta et una omnis domus
 Tremat et suum strage intus atra congemit.
 At sibi suis non prorsus iratis diis
- 720 Cadentium ex cumulis Hiensal diffugit.
 Tu mater his presentibus rebus metu
 Luctuque secluso tibi consulere.
- Matr.* : Oe miseram matrem! Sed eccum et alterum
 Hiensalis properantem et anxium intimum.
- Nunt.* : O tempora, O mores! Itane frater necem
 Fratri parat? Ubinam, ubi erit, O cives, fides?
 Ubi pietas apud homines tandem sita,
 Hanc si integram non iura servant sanguinis?
 Tibi, O miserrima omnium mater, tuos
- 730 Unde aut inibis aut acerbos finies
 Luctus?
- Matr.* : Quid et tu denique apportas mali?
- Nunt.* : Iugurta herum ferro he extinxit meum.
- Matr.* : He he he! Adeste, accurrite, he succedite,
 Lapsamque prae dolore et exanguem solo
- 735 Stratam parentem tollite hanc in regiam
 Funestam et infaustam domum. Vos, O probi
 Cives, boni fati, bonis et moribus,
 Iam bene valete, et quid nefandum ac pestilens
 Malum Invidia possit, per haec agnoscite.

FINIS

- v. 716 alto, R.
 v. 718 ... et suorum intus strage, B.
 v. 723 Oe : Hoc, P; eccum : eccul, R.
 v. 732 herum : horum, P.

Matr. : Woe, woe, woe! Be quick to aid her.
 She's fallen in a faint to the ground from grief.
 Bear this prostrate mother within the royal
 Palace, this house of mourning and misfortune.
 But you, you citizens of upright life,
 May your fate be good as well as your character.
 Farewell and learn from this how awful, how
 Disastrous an evil Envy may produce.

Richard WALSH

THE COMING OF HUMANISM TO THE LOW COUNTRIES Some Italian Influences at the Court of Charles the Bold *

Prof. Dr. Jozef IJsewijn has recently given us an invaluable synthesis of current research on the coming of humanism to the Low Countries ¹. In the following pages I should like to draw attention to, and attempt to assess the importance of, one comparatively neglected aspect of this development, namely the marked increase in Italian influence and personnel at the Burgundian court which took place during the reign of Charles the Bold ².

This increase appears to have been rooted in politics as much as in any other single cause, since it was in large measure the outcome of the close diplomatic relations with the peninsula maintained by the

* The publication of this article has been assisted by a grant from the International Medieval Bibliography. For much help and encouragement I am indebted to Dr Cecil H. Clough of the School of History, University of Liverpool. My gratitude to others will be acknowledged in subsequent footnotes. The mistakes remaining are, of course, the responsibility of the author.

¹ 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to Paul Oskar Kristeller on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, ed. H. O. Oberman & T. A. Brady, Jr., Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, XIV (Leiden, 1975), pp. 193-301. Prof. Dr. IJsewijn was kind enough to comment on a preliminary draft of this paper.

² Little has been written on this particular aspect of the subject, partly because the extent of the Italian milieu under Charles the Bold has not been fully appreciated. But, for a recent survey, see R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold, the Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London, 1973), pp. 164-6, while for the cultural interests of the Burgundian courtiers, particularly those of the administrative class, J. Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances au XV^e siècle. Les conseillers des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, L (Brussels, 1955), pp. 271-83 is useful. The subject was touched on also by the late E. H. Kantorowicz in an unpublished lecture, 'The Dukes of Burgundy and the Italian Renaissance' (dated Detroit, 1 November 1960), of which Prof. Ralph Giesey of the Department of History, University of Iowa, was kind enough to lend me a copy; the lecture was apparently delivered during the exhibition entitled 'Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch', held at the Detroit Institute of Arts between October and December 1960.

last Valois duke of Burgundy. For a number of reasons, these relations were much more intimate and continuous than those of his predecessors. During the ten years of his reign Charles entered into alliances with King Ferrante of Naples (1471), the republic of Venice (1472) and Duke Galeazzo Maria of Milan (1475), while only the republic of Florence, of the four major secular powers in the peninsula, remained aloof; with the papacy Charles enjoyed a commercial agreement which lasted from 1468 until 1473; and with the rulers of lesser states like Mantua and Ferrara he strove successfully to remain on cordial terms ³.

The initial consequence of this diplomatic intercourse was the arrival at the Burgundian court of a steady stream of official emissaries from Italy: ambassadors, legates and nuncios, and even princes. In time other Italians found their way northwards in a private capacity; some took service with the duke and thereby joined the small number of their fellow-countrymen whose connexion with the Burgundian court dated from the reign of Philip the Good. Meanwhile several thousand soldiers were being recruited by Charles the Bold in the peninsula. In the opposite direction the number of Burgundians dispatched on official business to Italy increased correspondingly, a measure which provided opportunities for a close observation of the changing Italian scene and which also, perhaps, enabled those sent the better to understand and appreciate, on their return, the Italians they found in the ducal entourage.

In the cultural sphere, therefore, the significance of Charles the Bold's court was that it facilitated direct interchange through personal contact. By the same token, of course, it could be argued that the very concentration of Italians around the person of the duke himself to some degree limited their impact in terms of both space and time ⁴. On the other hand, it is worth remembering that at this period the only other major cultural centres in the Low Countries were the monasteries and the universities (of which there were only two in the area, Louvain and Cologne, if Paris is excluded) ⁵ and that to these the Burgundian court, though its residence was still by no means fixed in one place, provided an important addition or alternative. Moreover, to the extent that humanism was not a homegrown product of the Low

³ The diplomatic background will be discussed more fully in my forthcoming Hull University Ph. D. thesis, 'Charles the Bold and Italy'.

⁴ See the concluding remarks below, pp. 192-197.

⁵ A point well made by IJsewijn, 'The Coming', p. 197.

Countries but needed the stimulus of direct contact with Italy, then developments during the reign of the last Valois duke helped significantly to enhance the opportunities for such contact.

One can reasonably speak of a distinct and even self-conscious Italian milieu at the court of Charles the Bold. It included, first, those who had been taken directly into the duke's service, many of them being placed in the ducal household itself. Some Italians were attached to the Burgundian court by the duke's generosity and by their own self-deluding ambitions, rather than by any official function. Independent of the ducal payroll but forming a distinct group of their own were the diplomats accredited to Charles the Bold by the major rulers of the peninsula for the purposes of reporting on events and of fostering good relations between the duke and their respective masters. Finally, separate from the court itself but maintaining close links with it was the Italian merchant community or 'nation' in the Low Countries, particularly in Flanders. Members of this community provided a point of contact between the court and their suzerains, friends and relations in the peninsula, between the duke of Burgundy and the Italian diplomats in his entourage, and, on occasions, between the native population of the towns in which they resided and the life of the court.

If we consider these groups in turn, pride of place should be accorded to the Italian *corps diplomatique*. Unlike his contemporary, King Louis XI of France, Charles the Bold loved to surround himself with foreign ambassadors and he was especially fond of those from Italy, treating them with both honour and intimacy. None of them could truly be described as humanists of the first rank and the nature of their vocation prevented them becoming prolific writers, but most were men of considerable education and some revealed literary or intellectual inclinations.

Of the ambassadors who spent extended periods (more than a year) at Charles the Bold's court the two most notable were the Neapolitan ambassador, Francesco Bertini, bishop of Andria (1465) and later of Capaccio (1471), who, with a short break during the winter of 1473-4, resided in the Burgundian Low Countries for perhaps seven years (from about the spring of 1468 until the end of 1475)⁶; and

⁶ The brief biography by I. Walter in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960-), IX (1967), pp. 540-2, which provides the basic facts of his career, is the most

Bernardo Bembo, who represented the Venetian republic at the Burgundian court from August 1471 until mid-1474⁷.

Bertini's early years are obscure. It is known that he studied at Padua University, but when and what have not been recorded, although it might be speculated that he met Bembo there, since the two men seem to have been of a similar age. A Lucchese by birth, Bertini was attached to the papal service before he passed into that of King Ferrante of Naples in the 1460s, when his career really began to blossom. He might be termed a representative of the curial humanism of his day; a protégé of Bartolomeo Roverella, archbishop of Ravenna, he corresponded regularly, for at least the last ten years of his life, with Iacopo Ammanati-Piccolomini, cardinal of Pavia⁸. Vespasiano da Bisticci described him as belonging among the most fluent and eloquent writers of the age, a man, however, whose public career unfortunately gave him no leisure to bequeath his thoughts to posterity on paper⁹. Nonetheless, Bertini did leave behind him a notable oration made in praise of Livy at Venice in 1458¹⁰, which perhaps tells us something about his interests and character, and an epithalamial speech delivered in Naples Cathedral before Ferrante in 1465 on the occasion of the marriage of that king's eldest son Alfonso with Ippolita Sforza¹¹. We can only guess at what Bertini might have

extended study of this neglected figure. The date of his death is fixed at 22 November 1475 by the dispatch of Giovanni Pietro Panigarola to the duke of Milan from the Burgundian camp outside Nancy, 24.XI.1475, in Archivio di Stato, Milan, Fondo Visconteo-Sforzesco, Potenze Estere (hereafter ASM), carteggio 517.

⁷ As with Bertini, no monograph exists on Bembo, but the biography by A. Ventura and M. Pecoraro in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, VIII (Rome, 1966), pp. 103-9 provides a useful starting-point. For additional material, especially on Bembo's library, see C. H. Clough, *Pietro Bembo's Library as represented particularly in the British Museum*, 2nd edn (London, 1971), pp. 1, 3-4 (with notes on pp. 11-14).

⁸ A copy of an unpublished letter from Bertini to Roverella describing Charles the Bold's campaign in Guelders and written at Antwerp, 19.VI.1473, is in the Archivio di Stato, Modena, Cancelleria, Documenti di Stati Esteri, 1, 5301/101. Bertini's accounts of the duke of Burgundy's deeds must have formed a notable proportion of the materials which Ammanati-Piccolomini was known to have assembled for an unrealized history of his times; the cardinal of Pavia was a patron also of Francesco Bertini's brother Domenico. See G. Calamari, *Il confidente di Pio II. Card. Iacopo Ammanati-Piccolomini (1422-1479)*, 2 vols (Rome-Milan, 1932-40), II, 416, 481, 484.

⁹ *Le vite*, ed. A. Greco (only one volume so far published: Florence, 1970), I, 290.

¹⁰ P. Sambin, 'Il Panormita e il dono d'una reliquia di Livio', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, I (1958), 276-81 (p. 277), and P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of uncatalogued or incompletely catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries*, 2 vols (London-Leiden, 1963-7), I, I, 320.

¹¹ Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, 186, 430.

achieved had the needs of diplomacy not intervened, but, by way of contrast, his brother Domenico, who led a fairly undemanding life in Rome as a papal scribe, became a patron of architecture¹². Charles the Bold held Francesco Bertini in the highest trust and esteem; King Ferrante wrote to the duke from Vairano on 23 February 1472 to thank him for his reception of the ambassador, adding that Charles the Bold's appreciation of Bertini served only to increase Ferrante's own favourable opinion of the man¹³.

Bernardo Bembo, doctor of laws of the University of Padua, was comparatively young and inexperienced when he arrived at the Burgundian court in 1471. Later in his long life (he died at the age of eighty-six in 1519), he was to win the friendship and admiration of many of the leading literary lights — Florentine as well as Venetian — of his day, including among others Marsilio Ficino (the two men were born on the same day, 19 October 1433), Cristoforo Landino and Giorgio Merula. It is worth pointing out, however, that in 1471 most of this still lay in the future, although it is possible that Bembo had already, in 1465, met Lorenzo de' Medici¹⁴, with whom he was to become so intimate after his return from Burgundy, while we know also that Francesco Filelfo, whose name will appear several times in subsequent pages, addressed to him in 1464 a letter which praised his learning¹⁵. Bernardo Bembo was not so much a writer as a friend and patron of writers. The main work from his pen is his commonplace book, which mentions the embassy to Burgundy more than once¹⁶. He was noted, in addition, as a passionate hunter and collector of manuscripts; among the ancients he particularly favoured Cicero and Virgil and, among the moderns, Dante and Petrarch. His duties as ambassador to Charles the Bold do not seem to have prevented him

¹² S. Andreucci, 'Domenico Bertini e la pieve di S. Giovanni Battista a Galliciano', *La Provincia di Lucca*, 10 (1970), 44-51.

¹³ A copy of the letter is in the Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, série B (hereafter ADN B) 18842.

¹⁴ V. Cian, 'Per Bernardo Bembo. Le sue relazioni coi Medici', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 28 (1896), 348-61 (p. 350).

¹⁵ V. Cian, 'Per Bernardo Bembo. Le relazioni letterarie, i codici e gli scritti', *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.*, 31 (1898), 49-81 (p. 52).

¹⁶ British Museum, London (now British Library; hereafter BM), Additional MS 41068A, ff. 43^v/82^r, 101^r/142^r, 206^v/247^r, 252/293 (old/new foliation). For a description of the MS, with further references, see Clough, *Pietro Bembo's Library*, p. 14 n. 28.

pursuing these interests¹⁷. Like Bertini, he was a capable public speaker, although an address he is known to have made to Charles the Bold (the suggested date is 1472) has regrettably been lost¹⁸.

Less well remembered than these two but certainly worth mentioning among the diplomats who spent over twelve months representing Italian powers at Charles the Bold's court are Lucas de Tolentis, the papal nuncio and legate; Domenico Albergati, papal alum commissioner; the Venetians, Marcantonio Morosini and Antonio Dandolo; and the Neapolitan, Giovanni Olzina (or Juan de Olcina).

Lucas de Tolentis spent almost twenty years, on and off, in the Low Countries on behalf of the Holy See¹⁹. Born in Korčula (Curzola) in Venetian Dalmatia, a city that claims Marco Polo as its son, Lucas was probably of Slav or Croatian rather than Italian origins²⁰ and there is little evidence that he displayed at the Burgundian court any great interest in cultural matters. We do know at least though that he was educated in Italy and possibly at the University of Padua,

¹⁷ P. de Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini. Contributions à l'histoire des collections d'Italie et à l'étude de la Renaissance*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et historiques, LXIV (Paris, 1887), pp. 293, 302. It was probably during Bernardo Bembo's embassy to the Burgundian court that some of the manuscripts known to have formed part of his library were acquired. Among these were poems of Bertran de Born, Arnaut Daniel and Foulques de Marseille; a collection of verse in Provençal; and a copy of *Les Vœux du Paon* (respectively Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS fr. 12473, and Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, MSS lat. 3206-9). I am indebted for this information to Dr Cecil Clough.

¹⁸ L. B. Alberti, *La prima grammatica della lingua volgare, la grammaticetta vaticana*, *Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 1370*, ed. C. Grayson, *Collezione di opere inedite o rare pubblicate dalla Commissione per i testi di lingua*, CXXV (Bologna, 1964), p. xii. However, a speech describing the conquests of Sultan Mehmed II and made by a Venetian ambassador (unnamed, but, for chronological reasons, he must have been either Bembo or Dandolo) to Charles the Bold in the period before Philippe de Commynes left the Burgundian court in August 1472 greatly impressed that chronicler: see his *Mémoires*, ed. J. Calmette & G. Durville, 3 vols, *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*, III, V, VI (Paris, 1924-6), II, 338-9. A speech made by Bembo on the subject of the crusade to the Valenciennes chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in May 1473 is summarized in French in the *Archiv des Ordens vom Goldenen Vliesse*, Vienna (hereafter AOGV), reg. III, ff. 43-43' and further summarized by F.A.F.T. de Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or* (Brussels, 1830), pp. 79-80.

¹⁹ J. Paquet, 'Une ébauche de la nonciature de Flandre au XV^e siècle: les missions dans les Pays-Bas de Luc de Tolentis, évêque de Sebenico, 1462-1484', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 25 (1949), 27-144 (hereafter cited as Paquet, 'Luc de Tolentis').

²⁰ This is suggested also by the form of his surname (Tollentich = Tollentić) recorded in an inscription in Šibenik Cathedral; see below, n. 22.

since he seems to have been friendly with Antonio Cermeson (or Cermisonus), a doctor of arts and medicine at that university, or, at any rate, with Antonio's son Pietro, a mercenary captain whom Lucas specially recommended to the duke of Burgundy in 1476²¹. Lucas was bishop of Šibenik (Sebenico) in his native Dalmatia from 1469 until his death in 1491 and it was during this period that the major part of the city's famous cathedral was completed; he seems to have played some part in its construction, even though his diplomatic activities elsewhere prevented him spending much time in his diocese²².

One of the bishop of Šibenik's colleagues in the Low Countries was the Bolognese Domenico Albergati, sent thither by Sixtus IV in 1472 in order to supervise the execution of Charles the Bold's alum agreement with Rome (by which the so-called crusading alum from the mines at Tolfa in the Papal States was to be given a monopoly in the duke's lands). His mission was unremarkable except for the fact that in 1475 he had copied a manuscript containing four early works of Marsilio Ficino, the significance of Albergati's choice being that Ficino's philosophy was then very little known in Flanders²³.

The Venetians, Dandolo and Morosini, are rather shadowy figures. Of Antonio Dandolo, who visited the Burgundian court twice between the end of 1467 and mid-1470, we know that it was in his house at Ravenna that Cardinal Basil Bessarion died in November 1472, after Bessarion's return from an unsuccessful mission aimed at reconciling the king of France and the duke of Burgundy; Dandolo and Bessarion

²¹ *Dépêches des ambassadeurs milanais sur les campagnes de Charles-le-Hardi, duc de Bourgogne, de 1474 à 1477*, ed. F. de Gingins La Sarra, 2 vols (Paris-Geneva, 1858), III, 274 (cited hereafter as *Dépêches*, ed. Gingins La Sarra).

²² L. de Voinovitch, *Histoire de Dalmatie*, 2 vols (Paris, 1934), II, 813-16. In June 1477, for example, Lucas made a donation of 200 ducats to the cost of building the cathedral, where his memorial tablet reads: —

PRAESULIS HIC LUCAE TOLLENTICH OSSA QUIESCUNT
MUNERIS EST CUIUS CELSI PARS MAXIMA TEMPLI

I am indebted for this information to Dr Cvito Fisković, Director of the Regionalni Zavod za Zastitu Spomenika Kulture, Split. One is reminded of the remark by S. Guldescu, *History of Medieval Croatia* (The Hague, 1964), p. 296, that 'later fifteenth century Europe was replete with really eminent Croatian personalities who filled posts at universities, academies, courts and art centers throughout the continent'.

²³ F. Saxl, 'A Marsilio Ficino Manuscript written in Bruges in 1475 and the Alum Monopoly of the Popes', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1 (1937), 61-2. When Saxl wrote this article, the manuscript was in private hands; it contained four translations from the Greek, all made between 1463 and 1464 for Cosimo de' Medici (*Mercurius Trismegistus*, *Alcinoi liber de doctrina Platonis*, *Symbola Pythagorae*, and *Xenocratis liber de morte*).

had been friends since 1463 when the latter was papal legate to Venice²⁴. Marcantonio Morosini succeeded Bernardo Bembo as the republic's ambassador at the Burgundian court in the summer of 1474; he remained there until the end of the following year. It was his splendid patrician manners which made the deepest impression on the Milanese ambassador in Venice when he departed for the Low Countries²⁵, but he did not lack other accomplishments. There is evidence, for instance, of strong friendship with Pomponio Leto, for, when that Calabrian humanist was arraigned before the Venetian Council of Ten in 1468 on a charge of sodomy, Morosini interceded for him, despite the fact that he was related to Leto's alleged accomplice²⁶. Morosini's patronage was sought, often successfully, by a number of the leading Venetian writers of his day, including Bembo's friend Giorgio Merula, and he composed verse himself²⁷. In 1496, when he was sent on an embassy to Maximilian, King of the Romans, he showed himself capable of extemporizing forcefully in Latin²⁸.

Giovanni Olzina, as our Italian sources term him, was in fact probably Aragonese by birth, but, having come to Italy with King Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, he became at Alfonso's Neapolitan court the friend and correspondent of many of the humanists who basked there in the warm sun of that benevolent ruler's patronage, for example Francesco Filelfo, Antonio Beccadelli and Guiniforte Barzizza²⁹. Early in 1475 Olzina travelled to the Low Countries to prepare the way for Don Federico d'Aragona, prince of Taranto, who had recently set out from Naples with hopes of marrying Charles the Bold's heiress Mary³⁰. He was not the only humanist of note to

²⁴ H. Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472). Étude sur la Chrétienté et la Renaissance vers le milieu du XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1878), p. 430.

²⁵ In a letter to the duke of Milan, 27.III.1474 (ASM 359), Leonardo Botta described him as 'homo pomposissimus'.

²⁶ J. Delz, 'Ein unbekannter Brief von Pomponius Laetus', *Italia med. e uman.*, 9 (1966), 417-40 (pp. 422, 425).

²⁷ Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, I, 82, 83, 327, 381 and II, 11, 205, 240, 261, 366; and F. Gabotto & A. Badini, *Vita di Giorgio Merula* (Alessandria, 1893), pp. 68-9.

²⁸ W. Höflechner, *Die Gesandten der europäischen Mächte, vornehmlich des Kaisers und des Reiches 1490-1500*, Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, CXXIX (Vienna, 1972), p. 400.

²⁹ A. Soria, *Los humanistas de la corte de Alfonso el Magnanimo (según los epistolarios)* (Granada, 1956), pp. 52-5, 97, 129, 162, 244, 277.

³⁰ Olzina had arrived in Bruges by April 1475; he wrote thence to the duke of Milan on 20 April (ASM 516). His diplomatic activity in the Low Countries is mentioned by Panigarola, writing to the duke of Milan from Namur, 27.VIII.1475, and from Nancy, 4.XII.1474 (ASM 517).

accompany the Neapolitan prince on this ill-fated visit (see below, p. 160).

Diplomats at the Burgundian court such as these represented several of the most important but contrasting centres of humanist activity of the Italian Renaissance: Padua University and Venice; the papal curia; and the Aragonese court in Naples. As one would expect with men engaged in public business and far from their homeland, they were by no means the leading *letterati* of their generation, but this fact probably rendered them less untypical than their more illustrious contemporaries of what had become to some extent an intellectual fashion as well as a cultural revival.

Nor should the other Italian envoys at Charles the Bold's court be overlooked, even though the brevity of their missions presumably curtailed the intellectual impact they made. Giovanni Palomar (or Palombaro) represented King Ferrante during the bishop of Capaccio's return to Naples in the winter of 1473-4 and again in the first half of 1476 after the bishop's death. Little is known about him, but he was at least capable of penning for his Milanese friend, the diplomat Francesco Pietrasanta, a verse description of the duke of Burgundy's magnificent entry into Dijon at the end of January 1474³¹. He was also sufficiently careful of his fame to have a portrait medal struck by the duke's Neapolitan secretary, Giovanni di Candida³². Tommaso Tebaldi of Bologna, one of the two heads of the Milanese embassy to the Burgundian court in the summer of 1469, was not only a diplomat of considerable experience, particularly of ultra-

³¹ The verses themselves do not seem to have survived but Palomar's 'rime' are mentioned in the letter written from Milan to the marquis of Mantua by Zaccaria Saggio, 23.IV.1474, in the Archivio di Stato, Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga (hereafter AG), busta 1624.

³² V. Tourneur, 'Jehan de Candida, diplomate et médailleur, au service de la maison de Bourgogne 1472-1480', *Revue belge de numismatique*, 70 (1914), 381-411, and 71 (1919), 7-48, 251-300 (pp. 262-3); but see also G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, 2 vols (London, 1930), I, 212, 217, who emphasizes the need for caution in attributing this and other medals to Candida. If, however, the medal is attributable to Candida, it is equally possible that it was executed *after* Charles the Bold's death, because Palomar was again sent to the Burgundian court in 1478, this time as ambassador to Maximilian: L. Cerioni, 'La politica italiana di Luigi XI e la missione di Filippo di Commines', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 77 (1950), 59-156 (p. 122), and see also AOGV, IV, 31'. For reasons both of age and of lack of contemporary comment, it seems unlikely that our Giovanni Palomar, even if of Aragonese origin, can be identified with the Barcelonese cleric Johannes de Palomar who figured so prominently in the proceedings of the Council of Basel in the 1430s.

montane affairs (he could speak fluent French, for instance), but also the humanist friend of Filelfo and Beccadelli among others³³. Of the papal envoys, Tommaso de Vincentiis, who preceded Domenico Alberghati to the Low Countries as papal alum commissioner for a few months at the end of 1471, had earlier been attached to the household of Cardinal Bessarion³⁴; Alessandro Nanni (or Numai), bishop of Forlì, who visited Charles the Bold in 1475 in order to arrange a truce with the Emperor and who maintained contact with the Burgundian court right up to the end of the duke's reign, could be described by an antiquarian of his native city as 'persona di gran letteratura'³⁵; and a predecessor of Nanni's, Andrea de Spiritibus of Viterbo, who got on far less well with the duke, was characterized by a contemporary chronicler of his hometown in almost Burckhardtian terms as 'eloquentissimo e universale'³⁶.

Another papal legate of some renown was Stefano Nardini, archbishop of Milan³⁷, who visited Charles the Bold briefly at Louvain in October 1467³⁸. Apart from his long and varied ecclesiastical and diplomatic career, the archbishop was noted for his foundation of a school in Milan in 1473 and for his legacy of a sum of money in his will made in 1483 for the endowment of a college in Rome to which he also bequeathed his vast library. Of the 126 fifteenth-century Italian

³³ L. Frati, 'Due umanisti bolognesi alla corte ducale di Milano. I. Tommaso Tebaldi (Ergotele)', *Archivio storico italiano*, 5th ser., 43 (1909), 359-67, and *Dispatches with Related Documents of Milanese Ambassadors in France and Burgundy, 1450-83*, ed. P. M. Kendall & V. Ilardi, 2 vols so far published (Athens, Ohio: 1970-1), I, xlv-vii, li.

³⁴ E. Meuthen, 'Zum Itinerar der deutschen Legation Bessarions (1460-61)', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 37 (1957), 328-33 (p. 331 n. 27), and R. de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank 1397-1494*, Harvard Studies in Business History, XXI (Cambridge, Mass.: 1963), p. 441 n. 119. The form of this person's name has given rise to some confusion. It is interesting, therefore, to find that for a ducal gift of 200 livres he signed a receipt as *Thomas de Vincentiis manu propria* (ADN B 2093/66970: 31 October 1471).

³⁵ P. Bonili, *Istorie della città di Forlì* (Forlì 1661), quoted in G. Casali, 'Serie cronologica dei vescovi di Forlì investigata colla scorta di diversi autori', *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna*, 2 (1863), 91-157 (p. 137); but, for the chronology, see now G. Zaccaria, 'Precisazioni al catalogo dei vescovi di Forlì nel sec. XV', *Atti e Mem...Romagna*, 24 (1975 for 1973), 45-52 (pp. 47-51).

³⁶ Giovanni di Iuzzo in *Cronache e statuti della città di Viterbo*, ed. I. Ciampi, Documenti di storia italiana, V (Florence, 1872), p. 102 n. 1.

³⁷ G. Marcora, 'Stefano Nardini, arcivescovo di Milano (1461-1484)', *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Milano*, 3 (1956), 247-488.

³⁸ G. Chastellain, *Œuvres*, ed. J. B. M. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols (Brussels, 1863-8), V (*Chronique*), 349-55.

bishops studied by Professor Hay, it is interesting that Nardini was one of the mere two who, he concludes, might be considered in any way culturally significant³⁹. Whether the brevity of his stay at the Burgundian court allowed him to make his mark in such matters is doubtful; in fact, the balance lay probably in the opposite direction, for Nardini took the opportunity of his visit to the Low Countries to acquire some of the Flemish tapestries⁴⁰ whose pre-eminence was willingly conceded and admired in Italy at that period.

Better-remembered today — though it was not always so — than any of these legates and short-term envoys is Onofrio di Santa Croce, bishop of Tricarico, who, after his return to Rome early in 1469, composed a detailed account of his mission to Liège in 1468 when he tried and failed to arrange a peaceful settlement between the duke of Burgundy and the city and bishop of Liège. This apologia has been unanimously praised by historians for its clarity and impartiality and, indeed, for the valuable corrective it gives to Philippe de Commynes's celebrated but unreliable version of events at Liège in 1468. Its effect at the time, however, must have been limited, since Onofrio died before he could complete his memoir, and it then lay unnoticed until discovered and published ninety years ago⁴¹. In addition to his own account, the bishop of Tricarico, eager to clear his name from accusations of incompetence or of intrigue, has been credited with commissioning a poetical version of his memoir from Angelo de Curibus Sabinis⁴².

Onofrio's mission to Liège (and briefly on two occasions, in June and August 1468, to the Burgundian court) resulted in an interesting example of cultural transmission. On his return to Rome he took with him the young Walloon writer Matthaeus Herbenus, who, after Onofrio's death in 1471, found a patron in the famous grammarian

³⁹ D. Hay, *Italian Clergy and Italian Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Society for Renaissance Studies, Occasional Papers, I (London, 1973), pp. 6-7, 10; this study, however, does not discuss Francesco Bertini at all.

⁴⁰ Marcora, 'Stefano Nardini', 287.

⁴¹ *Mémoire du légat Onufrius sur les affaires de Liège (1468)*, ed. S. Bormans (Brussels, 1885).

⁴² *De excidio civitatis Leodiensis in Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio...*, ed. E. Martène & U. Durand, 9 vols (Paris, 1729-33), IV, cols. 1379-1500. G. Mercati, 'Le notizie del Sabellico e di Matteo Herben circa Angelo Sabino ed il poema *De excidio civitatis Leodiensis*', in his *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti*, Studi e Testi, 90-1, 2 vols (Città del Vaticano, 1939), II, 17-23, has suggested convincingly, however, that Angelo's poem was not in fact commissioned by Onofrio.

Niccolò Perotti. It was Herbenus who, once back in his homeland a decade later, not only distributed copies of Angelo de Curibus Sabinis's poem but also, through his own works, helped introduce into the Low Countries historiography and topography after the models of Leonardo Bruni and Flavio Biondo; he can be described as one of the very first Netherlandish humanist grammarians and historians⁴³.

It will have been noticed from the above remarks that one of the most renowned cultural centres in Italy at this time, Medicean Florence, was not represented diplomatically at the court of Charles the Bold. Several reasons for this omission suggest themselves. Lorenzo the Magnificent was never enamoured of the duke; he, like his father and grandfather before him, was too closely attached to the French crown to risk compromising relations with this important ally by embarking on similarly amicable contacts with Burgundy; and perhaps the Medici considered their interests in the Low Countries, which were mainly of a commercial nature, could be adequately safeguarded by Tommaso Portinari alone, for Portinari, manager of the Bruges branch of the Medici bank, was both a confidant of the duke himself and one of the most eminent members of the mercantile community in Flanders⁴⁴. Certainly, many of the Florentine republic's ambassadors were notable humanists and it may perhaps be regretted that none of them was allowed the opportunity to deliver at the Burgundian court an example of the formal, ornate orations in which they specialized and which were one of the most striking features of Italian Renaissance diplomacy⁴⁵. Yet there were some traces of Florentine humanist influence at Charles the Bold's court. Out of deference, as he said, to the duke's unmistakeable Italophile tendencies, Louis XI made Charles a gift early in 1474 of a book written in Italian about Charlemagne and some other French kings⁴⁶. The work in question, it has been suggested, was the Italian version of Einhard's *Vita Caroli* done by Donato Acciaiuoli and presented by him to Louis XI on his

⁴³ IJsewijn, 'The Coming', 201, 230-1, 254-60 (with further references on pp. 291-2).

⁴⁴ On Portinari see also below, pp. 168-174 *passim*.

⁴⁵ E. Santini, *Firenze e i suoi 'oratori' nel Quattrocento* (Milan etc., 1922), especially chap. IV.

⁴⁶ O. Cartellieri, *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund. Kulturhistorische Bilder* (Basel, 1926), p. 301.

embassy to France in 1461⁴⁷. In fact, Donato's cousin, the exiled Neri di Agnolo Acciaiuoli, seems to have found his way briefly to Charles the Bold's court in 1473⁴⁸.

Apart from the diplomatic personnel, other groups of Italians frequented the court of the last Valois duke without being formally attached to his service. Three princes, for example, spent greater or lesser periods at his court: Francesco d'Este, natural son of the renowned Leonello, marquis of Ferrara and Modena; Rodolfo Gonzaga, fourth of the five sons of Lodovico III, marquis of Mantua; and Federico d'Aragona, prince of Taranto, younger son of King Ferrante of Naples. Although Francesco d'Este⁴⁹ was illegitimate, it seems reasonable to treat him here as a prince and, therefore, to follow the practice of Burgundian chroniclers and clerks, who habitually accorded him the appellation of 'marquis de Ferrare'. When Francesco arrived at the court of Charles the Bold's father Philip the Good in 1444 aged about fifteen, he probably had no desire or intention to stay permanently in the Low Countries; political circumstances in his homeland, however, offered him little prospect of furthering his career there and it was presumably for this reason that he remained at the Burgundian court at least until the final year of Charles the Bold's reign⁵⁰. Although he returned briefly to Italy more than once and kept in contact with his relatives there, his mental outlook probably

⁴⁷ D. Gallet-Guerne, *Vasque de Lucène et la Cyropédie à la cour de Bourgogne (1470). Le traité de Xénophon mis en français d'après la version latine du Pogge. Étude. Édition des Livres I et V*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, CXL (Geneva, 1974), p. 98 n. 5.

⁴⁸ Iohanne Antonio Marianis writing to the duke of Milan from Carpi, 26.XII.1472 (ASM 539) reports Neri leaving Italy for Burgundy; Tommaso Portinari writing to Lorenzo de' Medici from Bruges, 8.VIII.1473 (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Mediceo avanti il Principato, filza 21, f. 408) reports his arrival.

⁴⁹ The pioneering study of his career is by E. H. Kantorowicz, 'The Este Portrait by Roger van der Weyden', reprinted from the *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*, 3 (1939-40) in his *Selected Studies*, ed. M. Cherniavsky and R. E. Giesey (Locust Valley, N. Y., 1965), pp. 366-80; references are to the latter.

⁵⁰ The last reference I have been able to trace is a payment made to him for fulfilling his duties in the ducal household in June 1476: ADN B 3377 (113, 555). Whether he left before or after the battle of Nancy is not at present known, but he served two terms as governor of Montpellier under Louis XI and Charles VIII of France from July 1477 until December 1483 and again from April 1484 to July 1486: G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia Regia ou état des officiers royaux des bailliages et des sénéchaussées de 1328 à 1515*, 6 vols (Paris, 1942-61), IV (1954), 207-8. Kantorowicz, 'The Este Portrait', p. 375 was able to trace Francesco's career only up to October 1475.

became progressively Burgundian. His taste in books⁵¹, for instance, seems to have been more chivalric than humanist, while his choice of portrait-painter, Rogier van der Weyden, was equally typical of the Burgundian courtly milieu in which he spent the bulk of his adult years. On the other hand, his residence in the north was important in two respects: it must to some extent have fostered communications between his adopted homeland and the cultivated court of the Este⁵²; and it was probably through Francesco, with whom he was brought up and educated, that Charles the Bold first became intimately acquainted with Italian manners and with the Italian language (which he could speak: below, p. 180).

In comparison, the visits to the Burgundian court made by Rodolfo Gonzaga and Federico d'Aragona were brief. The purpose of Rodolfo's visit seems to have been both to express his father's friendship for the house of Burgundy and to complete Rodolfo's princely education; his stay lasted from September 1469 until November the following year. The letters he wrote to his mother, Barbara of Brandenburg⁵³, whose contents refer mainly to his personal affairs and expenses, suggest that his allowance, though his parents thought it generous, was insufficient to enable him to maintain the splendid show expected at the ducal court. But if Rodolfo may not have made quite the impression he would have liked, his visit did help cement relations between Burgundy and Mantua. In addition, his small suite of perhaps twenty included two minor figures of the Italian Renaissance, Rinaldo d'Este and Enrico Suardi. Rinaldo (a cousin of Francesco d'Este), who stayed with Rodolfo just long enough to ensure his safe arrival, can possibly be identified with the subject, bearing the same name, of a portrait medal dated 1469 whose style shows marks of that of the Mantuan artist Lodovico Corradini⁵⁴. Enrico Suardi, the prince's

⁵¹ Kantorowicz, pp. 372 n. 47, 373 n. 51.

⁵² For instance, several of Charles the Bold's councillors studied at Ferrara University: see below, pp. 186-187. An opportunity lost for potential cultural exchange occurred in the case of Angelo Decembrio, author of the *De politia litteraria* and brother of the more famous Pier Candido, for virtually the last thing known of his life is that in November 1466 he was paid by Borso d'Este's financial officers for a journey *ad partes Burgundie* on which he was then about to embark: G. Bertoni, *Guarino da Verona fra letterati e cortigiani a Ferrara (1429-1460)*, Biblioteca dell' "Archivum Romanicum", ser. I, Storia-Letteratura-Paleografia, I (Geneva, 1921), p. 78. Angelo is not known to have arrived at his destination.

⁵³ His seventeen letters written from the Low Countries are in AG 2100.

⁵⁴ Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals*, I, 29 (and II, Plate 23, no. 104); see also the same author's *Medals of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1920), p. 44.

guardian, or tutor, and secretary, had earlier exchanged verses with the Mantuan poet Giovan Francesco Suardi, to whom the name suggests he was related ⁵⁵.

Federico d'Aragona's stay was even shorter than Rodolfo's, lasting from September 1475 until June 1476, during which time his hopes of becoming Charles the Bold's son-in-law faded rapidly to nothing ⁵⁶. The prince of Taranto, at this time in his mid-twenties, was an amiable young man whose pleasant manners won him many friends, especially among the ladies. He was later to become a notable patron of writers and artists, but probably this trait of character was as yet not strongly developed, although on his return to Italy in 1476 his keen interest in Tuscan poetry prompted Lorenzo de' Medici, whom he met in Pisa on the journey back (they had already met once a decade previously), to present him with the collection that has come to be known as the *Raccolta Aragonesa* ⁵⁷. His large entourage ⁵⁸, however, did contain several men of cultivated tastes. Giovanni Olzina has been mentioned already (above, p. 154); Federico's leading adviser, Giulio Acquaviva, duke of Atri, was the father of two exceptionally gifted sons, Andrea Matteo and Belisario ⁵⁹; and the prince's tutor since 1465, the writer

⁵⁵ A. Belloni, 'Un lirico del Quattrocento a torto inedito e dimenticato: Giovan Francesco Suardi', *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.*, 51 (1908), 147-206 (p. 206 nn. 4, 5). Five of Enrico Suardi's letters written from the Low Countries are in AG 567. Of course, the traffic between Mantua and the Low Countries was two-way, and, like other Italian rulers, the Gonzaga bought objets d'art there. For example, an Arnaldo detto Boteram was sent thither by Marchioness Barbara to purchase carpets, altarpieces and other items: see his two letters to her from Brussels, 16.VI.1466 and 2.XI.1474 (AG 567).

⁵⁶ The main account is by E. Pontieri, 'Su le mancate nozze tra Federico d'Aragona e Maria di Borgogna', reprinted from *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, 63 (1938) as chap. III of his *Per la storia del regno di Ferrante I d'Aragona re di Napoli. Studi e ricerche*, 2nd edn (Naples, 1969); references are to the latter.

⁵⁷ The gift was accompanied by an introductory letter attributable either to Lorenzo de' Medici or, more likely, to the poet Angelo Poliziano, who was then acting as Lorenzo's secretary: I. Maier, *Ange Politien. La formation d'un poète humaniste (1469-1480)*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, LXXXI (Geneva, 1966), pp. 226-32. Charles the Bold did not altogether approve of this aspect of Federico's character and in one moment of anger he described him as unmanly ('una femina dato [sic] a le delitie'): Panigarola to the duke of Milan from the Burgundian camp outside Murten, 15.VI.1476 (ASM 520).

⁵⁸ A copy of the original list made by one of its members, Ettore Spina, is in the Biblioteca della Società napoletana di storia patria, Naples, fascio XXVI C.5 no. 11, ff. 11-12. I am indebted to the Librarian, Professore Alfredo Parente, for supplying me with a photocopy.

⁵⁹ E. Gothein, *Die Culturentwicklung Süd-Italiens in Einzel-Darstellungen* (Breslau, 1886), pp. 309-12, and A. Altamura, *L'Umanesimo nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Florence, 1941), pp. 148-9.

Elisio Calenzio (Luigi Galluccio), now accompanied him in the position of secretary⁶⁰. Perhaps the most notable of his companions was his doctor, Angelo Cato (or Catone) de Supinis of Benevento, who later encouraged Philippe de Commynes to write his *Mémoires*, thereby obtaining for himself, if not necessarily intentionally, an enduring place in history⁶¹.

For a time in 1475 it seemed as if Don Federico would be joined at the Burgundian court by another Italian prince. This was Galeazzo Maria's younger brother, Lodovico Sforza known as il Moro, whom, the Milanese ambassador Panigarola announced in his first formal oration in March 1475, the duke of Milan wished to send to Charles the Bold as a gesture of trust in his new ally⁶². The scheme was quietly abandoned as relations between the two rulers cooled; after the reconciliation between the duke of Milan and the French king, Lodovico instead travelled at the end of 1476 to the court of Louis XI, whence he sent back home some of the earliest reports to reach Italy of Charles the Bold's death⁶³. Another of Galeazzo Maria's brothers, the illegitimate Sforza Secondo, lord of Borgonuovo, thought of seeking service with Charles the Bold⁶⁴, although there is no evidence that he actually did so. But a period of service with the great duke of

⁶⁰ B. Croce, 'Elisio Calenzio', in his *Varietà di storia letteraria e civile*, I, Scritti di storia letteraria e politica, XXIX, 2nd edn (Bari, 1949), pp. 7-29 (pp. 7-8, 19-23). Of the 152 letters in Calenzio's epistolary, 49 were addressed to Federico d'Aragona (under the nickname of Hiaracus); many of these are concerned with the prince's education, moral as well as academic; and Calenzio's influence can be seen in Federico's disposition as an adult, mild-mannered, amiable and studious. See L. Monti Sabia, 'L'humanitas di Elisio Calenzio alla luce del suo epistolario', *Università di Napoli, Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia*, 11 (1964-8), 175-251.

⁶¹ Cato has been thoroughly studied by B. Croce, *Vite di avventure di fede e di passione*, Scritti di storia letteraria e politica, XXX, 2nd edn (Bari, 1947), pp. 167-86, and by C. A. J. Armstrong (ed.), *The Usurpation of Richard III. Dominicus Mancinus ad Angelum Catonem de occupatione regni Anglie per Riccardum tercium libellus*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1969), pp. 26-50; but see also J. Dufournet, 'Angelo Cato et les Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes', in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à Pierre Le Gentil* (Paris, 1973), pp. 213-22.

⁶² *Dépêches*, ed. Gingins La Sarra, I, no. 24. It is unclear whether or not Lodovico Sforza should also be regarded, like so many others, as a suitor for the hand of Mary of Burgundy.

⁶³ A. Dina, 'Lodovico il Moro prima della sua venuta al governo', *Arch. stor. lomb.*, 13 (1886), 737-76 (pp. 765-7), and Zaccaria Saggio to Lodovico Gonzaga from Milan, 26.I.1477 (AG 1626).

⁶⁴ Panigarola to the duke of Milan, Nancy, 4.XII.1475, and the duke to Panigarola, Milan, 25.XII.1475 (ASM 517).

Burgundy could clearly be considered by many to be a valuable part of the education of young Italian princes and nobles, as in the case of, for example, the son of Carlo Fortebracci, count of Montone, who joined Charles the Bold in 1473⁶⁵.

Italian academics and professional men of letters were as yet a rare sight in the Burgundian Low Countries, but three of the breed who had a connexion with the court of the last Valois duke may be mentioned here: Stephanus Surigonus, Stefano dei Corradi di Lignana and Raimondo Marliani (Raimundus de Marliano). Stephanus Surigonus of Milan, self-styled poet laureate and a member of the order of the Humiliati, arrived at Louvain in the summer of 1472. His ideas about poetry, however, found there a lukewarm, even hostile reception and his attempts to gain employment with Charles the Bold as ducal panegyricist were equally unfruitful⁶⁶. Why the duke, a willing patron

⁶⁵ F. Cusin, 'Impero, Borgogna e politica italiana', *Nuova rivista storica*, 19 (1935), 137-72, and 20 (1936), 34-57 (p. 39).

⁶⁶ H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, Humanistica Lovaniensia, X-XIII, 4 vols (Louvain, 1951-5), I, 159; see also K. Voigt, *Italienische Berichte aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland, von Francesco Petrarca zu Andrea de' Franceschi (1333-1492)*, Kieler historische Studien, XVII (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 230-1. The poems of Surigonus are in BM Arundel MS 249, ff. 94-117^v. Those dedicated to Charles the Bold are on ff. 101^v (partially printed by Cartellieri, *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund*, p. 190) and 106^v (partially printed by IJsewijn, 'The Coming', p. 251). I have not been able to consult R. Capelle, 'De humanist Stephanus Surigonus. Leven en publicatie van zijn werken' (unpublished lic. diss., University of Louvain, 1967).

Another wandering poet, the Ligurian Petrus Antonius Finariensis, who was at the time a lecturer at the University of Heidelberg, dedicated to Charles the Bold shortly before his accession an exhortatory work entitled *De principatus conservacione*: G. Ritter, 'Petrus Antonius Finariensis, der Nachfolger Peter Luders in Heidelberg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Frühhumanismus am Oberrhein', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 26 (1936), 89-103 (pp. 95-8). In 1475 Giovanni Aurelio Augurello of Rimini, a friend of Bernardo Bembo, dedicated some Latin verses to the duke of Burgundy; they are published by A. Della Torre, 'La prima ambasceria di Bernardo Bembo a Firenze', *Giorn. stor. lett. ital.*, 35 (1900), 258-333 (pp. 268-9). Very soon after the duke's death at the battle of Nancy in January 1477, the Mantuan poet Petrus Brocardus, chancellor of Marquis Federico Gonzaga, dedicated to his master a poem of just under four hundred lines, written in neo-Virgilian dactylic hexameters and entitled *Ad laudem et gloriam domini Sigismundi Austrie ducis etc de bello, strage et obitu bellipotentis Caroli ducis Burgundie a Sigismundo Austrie duce debellato*: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Reg. Lat. 816, ff. 1-9. I am unable to explain the emphasis of the poem which not only praises the German nation above the Italians but also ascribes the major share of the glory for Charles the Bold's defeat to Duke Sigismund. At one time in the library of Queen Christina of Sweden, the manuscript can be traced back as far as 1635, when it was bought in Italy by Pierre Bourdelot: H. Omont, 'Catalogue des manuscrits de Jean et Pierre Bourdelot, médecins parisiens', *Revue des bibliothèques*, 1 (1891), 81-103 (p. 89, no. 77).

of other writers whom he hired to disseminate Burgundian propaganda, should have missed the opportunity to exploit Surigonus's talents in this direction is puzzling. It might be remarked, though, that he failed similarly to make use of Giovanni di Candida's literary abilities; Charles employed Candida as secretary and diplomat but it was not until after he had entered the service of the French crown that this Neapolitan exile began to turn his hand to historical works which not only revealed a shrewd treatment of sources but also contained unmistakably a contemporary political relevance in terms of propaganda⁶⁷. Surigonus's visit to the Low Countries was not entirely wasted, however, since he made friends with three local humanists; Engelbertus Schut of Leiden, author of an *ars dictaminis*; Robertus a Lacu (Van de Poel) of Ghent, Marliani's successor as professor of canon law at Louvain University and one of the rare patrons of humanism there during this period; and Carolus Viruli, the first of the native teachers at Louvain University who might properly be called a humanist⁶⁸. Yet, on balance, it may well be that Surigonus made a greater impact in England, where he spent some time before 1471, possibly teaching at Oxford⁶⁹.

Stefano dei Corradi di Lignana is a more obscure figure. Already a doctor of laws in December 1473 when he matriculated in the University of Louvain, he later held the chair of civil law there from 1477 until 1483, being paid what could only be called a princely salary in comparison with that of his colleagues⁷⁰. He also had a close

⁶⁷ Candida's work as a historian has been studied by C. Couderc, 'Jean de Candida, historien', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 55 (1894), 564-7, and 85 (1924), 323-41; by J. Porcher, 'Jean de Candida et le cardinal de Saint-Denis', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*, 39 (1921-2), 319-26; and by E. Pontieri, 'Napoletani alla corte di Carlo VIII: Giovanni de Candida e due suoi compendi di storia del regno di Napoli', reprinted from *Arch. stor. prov. nap.*, 58 (1938) in his *Per la storia del regno di Ferrante I*, chap. VIII. On Candida see also below, p. 196.

⁶⁸ IJsewijn, 'The Coming', pp. 222, 234, 243, and the same 'The Beginning of Humanistic Literature in Brabant', *De Gulden Passer*, 47 (1973), 102-12 (p. 105).

⁶⁹ R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1967), pp. 138-40, 153-5.

⁷⁰ De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise*, I, 160, 217 n. 1, and J. Paquet, *Salaires et prébendes des professeurs de l'Université de Louvain au XV^e siècle*, *Studia Universitatis "Lovanium"*, Faculté de philosophie et lettres, II (Léopoldville, 1958), p. 10. De Vocht has the form 'Stephen de Luignania' and Paquet 'Étienne de Liniano'. However, the clue given by de Vocht (I, 160) that Stefano came from the diocese of Vercelli makes it reasonable to suppose he belonged to the Corradi di Lignana family, which owned lands and held benefices in that area. For example, Antonio and Pietro di Lignana, captains in Charles the Bold's army, had lands in the province

connexion with the Burgundian court itself, for *Maistre Estienne de Courradis de Lignana* was one of twenty-one lay councillors appointed on 3 January 1474 to serve in the new Parlement set up at Mechlin a few weeks previously⁷¹. Stefano may have had a further link with the ducal court: he was probably the *doctore* in Charles the Bold's service described in November 1473 as a relative (*nipote*) by Agostino dei Corradi di Lignana⁷², abbot of Casanova, an experienced diplomat who was himself attached to the duke and who undertook several missions on his behalf.

Far more eminent than either Stefano dei Corradi or Surigonus was Raimondo Marliani of Milan, about whom far more deserves to be known⁷³. Having obtained his doctorate in both laws from Pavia⁷⁴, Raimondo was called by Philip the Good, probably in the

of Vercelli, while several members of the family had a long connexion with churches and religious houses in the city itself; thus, Agostino dei Corradi di Lignana held the abbey of S. Andrea in commendam between 1463 and 1466. For these two instances, see *Dépêches*, ed. Gingins La Sarra, II, 330 n. 9 and V. Mandelli, *Il comune di Vercelli nel medio evo. Studi storici*, 4 vols (Vercelli, 1857-61), III (1858), 179-80.

⁷¹ P. de Commynes, *Mémoires*, ed. D. Godefroy & Lenglet du Fresnoy, 4 vols (London-Paris, 1747), II, 211. Stefano is among the councillors represented in a late sixteenth-century painting of the Parlement reproduced between pp. 64 and 65 of J. Van Rompaey, *De Grote Raad van de hertogen van Boergondië en het Parlement van Mechelen*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, LXXIII (Brussels, 1973); I have not, however, seen P. Cockshaw & G. Dogaer, 'La valeur historique des représentations du Grand Conseil établi sous Charles le Téméraire à Malines', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, 77 (1973), 27-46. [These authors give the date 5 February 1474 (J. IJ.).]

⁷² Cusin, 'Impero, Borgogna e politica italiana', 40.

⁷³ The best outline of his career is in de Vocht, *History*, I, 135-9. According to W. Paravicini, 'Zur Biographie von Guillaume Hugonet, Kanzler Herzog Karls des Kühnen', in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, XXXVI/1-3 (Göttingen, 1971-2), II (1972), pp. 443-81 (p. 448 n. 39), a new study is being prepared by that author together with Dr K. Voigt.

⁷⁴ First recorded as a student of laws there on 7 January 1435, he received his licentiate and doctorate in *utroque Iure* the following year and on 14 September 1438 he was received into the Collegio dei Giuristi: *Codice diplomatico dell' Università di Pavia*, ed. R. Majocchi, 2 vols (Pavia, 1905-15), II/1 (1913), 358, 360, II/2 (1915), 558. He later founded in Pavia a college bearing the family name: Z. Volta, 'Del Collegio Universitario Marliani in Pavia', *Arch. stor. lomb.*, 2nd ser., 19 (1892), 590-628. He may also have had a connexion with Padua University; at least, on the grounds that he endowed a bursary there for students of Louvain University, he is made to study at Padua by J. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège et de quelques contrées voisines...*, 18 vols (Louvain, 1763-70), VIII (1766), cols. 428, 431 (followed by de Vocht, *History*, I, 135,

1440s, to teach at the new University of Dole, founded by the duke in 1422. It was at Dole that he put down roots — a step taken, significantly perhaps, by few of the Italians under consideration here — by marrying the daughter of the lord of St. Hilaire. Between 1461 and 1463 he held the chair of canon law at Louvain; like Stefano dei Corradi, he received a very high salary, over five times as much as his two professorial colleagues together⁷⁵. When his wife died in 1463 he took holy orders and obtained canonries in the cathedrals of Liège and Besançon. In 1473 he refused the primary professorship of civil law offered him by the town authorities of Louvain, perhaps because he preferred to employ the comparative leisure he now enjoyed for private study.

Marliani was as renowned in public as in academic life. He was a councillor of both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. He was active as a cleric in the diocese of Liège. In a famous public debate held in 1463 between the prince-bishop of Liège, Louis de Bourbon, and his subjects, Raimondo as representative of the bishop routed the experts from Cologne University hired by the other side; his erudition on this occasion aroused admiration but his cold logicity and ignorance of local custom won him few friends. Towards the end of his life, however, he played a leading role in the resistance put up by the clergy of Liège and other parts of the Burgundian Low Countries against Charles the Bold's mortmain legislation and taxation of 1474⁷⁶.

Raimondo was valued also by successive popes. In 1468 he was appointed councillor to the legate Onofrio di Santa Croce for his mission to Liège⁷⁷. In the following year he was attached to Lucas de Tolentis as assistant in the sale of indulgences throughout and beyond the lands ruled by Charles the Bold⁷⁸. Three years later he was among the members of the household of another legate north of the Alps, Cardinal Bessarion, a fact which did not escape the attention

139 n. 1). However, Marliani is not mentioned in *Acta graduum academicorum Gymnasii Patavini ab anno 1406 ad annum 1450*, 3 vols, Fonti per la storia dell' Università di Padova, IV-VI, 2nd edn (Padua, 1970).

⁷⁵ Paquet, *Salaires*, p. 10.

⁷⁶ J. Bartier, 'Le sixième denier et l'amortissement sous Charles le Téméraire' (unpublished diss., Université Libre, Brussels, 1938), pp. 30-48, and Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 410.

⁷⁷ Onofrio di Santa Croce, *Mémoire*, pp. 30, 40.

⁷⁸ Paquet, 'Luc de Tolentis', 69.

of Louis XI, who complained that the legate's entourage was full of Burgundian sympathizers, Marliani most of all ⁷⁹.

As one might expect, his connexion with the dukes of Milan was very close. In 1445 Philip the Good sent him to negotiate with Filippo Maria Visconti for the cession to Burgundy of the city of Genoa; Marliani's Milanese loyalties, however, led him to draft a secret memorandum for Filippo Maria describing ways in which he might circumvent Philip the Good's proposals ⁸⁰. From the 1440s until the 1460s he upheld Milanese interests in the Burgundian lands and corresponded with Francesco Sforza ⁸¹. It was probably in recognition for his services to Onofrio and Tolentis that Pope Paul II rewarded him with certain benefices in the duchy of Milan; unfortunately, the grant was made without the prior approval of Galeazzo Maria, who accordingly refused to let Marliani enjoy them, despite the pleas increasingly made by the latter towards the end of his life as his thoughts returned to his homeland ⁸². The remembrance of his origins is evident in the testamentary arrangements made shortly before his death in August 1475, for in his will he left an annuity to help succour the inmates of one of Milan's prisons and he gave instructions to devote the bulk of his estate to the erection of a college for twelve students in Pavia which was named after his family; both his eminence and his close connexion with the Burgundian court can be seen in the fact that among the executors of the will were two of Charles the Bold's highest-ranking officials, Guillaume Hugonet, the chancellor, and Jean Carondelet, president of the Parlement of Mechlin ⁸³.

⁷⁹ Sforza Bettini to the duke of Milan from Tours, 30.VIII. 1472 (ASM 539).

⁸⁰ A. Grunzweig, 'Un plan d'acquisition de Gênes par Philippe le Bon (1445)', *Le moyen âge*, 42 (1931), 81-110.

⁸¹ Grunzweig, 'Un plan', 88 n. 2; M. Martens, 'La correspondance de caractère économique échangée par Francesco Sforza, duc de Milan, et Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1450-1466)', *Bull. Inst. hist. belge de Rome*, 27 (1952), 221-34 (p. 230); and *Dispatches... of Milanese Ambassadors*, ed. Kendall & Ilardi, I, 154-9, 160-3, 218-21, 251-6. An incident in Dijon in May 1455, when an Italian professor of law at the University of Dole prevented two Italian merchants being cheated by the landlord of "The Golden Eagle", which is recounted by W. R. Tyler, *Dijon and the Valois Dukes of Burgundy*, Centers of Civilization Series, XXIX (Norman, Oklahoma: 1971), pp. 38-9, probably also refers to Marliani.

⁸² The bishop of Novara (Giovanni Arcimboldi) to the duke of Milan, Rome, 1.III.1472 (ASM 72), and the duke to Sacramoro Chiozzo da Rimini in Rome from Villanova, 22.IX.1475 (ASM 79).

⁸³ A. Noto, *Gli Amici dei Poveri di Milano. Sei secoli di lasciti e donativi cronologi-*

Many of the prolific Marliani clan were active in academic or public life in Italy, such as Raimondo's cousin Giovanni, author of a mathematical treatise, professor of medicine at Pavia and personal physician to Galeazzo Maria⁸⁴. Raimondo was no exception to the tradition. He was celebrated both during his lifetime and after his death for his immense learning. The main work from his pen was a geographical and historical study of ancient Gallic and Germanic topography in relation to the writings of Caesar and Tacitus, a work which enjoyed great success and which was printed several times in Italy, France and Germany right up to the early seventeenth century. Marliani's efforts in this field were in part the result of prompting by his friend Cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius III, with whom he enjoyed long scholarly discussions when he was in Rome on business (probably in connexion with events at Liège) in 1469; he sent Francesco an early version of his work for his comments in 1470⁸⁵. Raimondo was also on good terms with Francesco Filelfo; he visited him in Milan in 1473, wrote to him subsequently and is known to have received at least two letters in return⁸⁶.

Providing another link in the chain between the ducal court and Renaissance Italy and forming a much larger and more distinct group than the academics and wandering *poetae* were the Italian merchants in the Low Countries, several of whose members, particularly in Flanders, were instrumental, whether through personal or business interest, in fostering cultural exchanges between Italy and Burgundy.

camente esposti (Milan, 1953), p. 97; Volta, 'Del Collegio Universitario Marliani', 598, 599, 609, 610; and *Cartulaire de l'église Saint-Lambert de Liège*, ed. S. Bormans, E. Schoolmeesters & E. Poncelet, 6 vols (Brussels, 1893-1933), V (1913), 198 (no. 3065).

⁸⁴ M. Clagett, *Giovanni Marliani and Late Medieval Physics* (New York, 1941).

⁸⁵ J. Schlecht, 'Pius III und die deutsche Nation', in *Festschrift Georg von Hertling zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage* (Kempten-Munich, 1913), pp. 305-28 (p. 309 and n. 3); A. A. Strnad, 'Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini. Politik und Mäzenatentum im Quattrocento', *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 8-9 (1964-6), 101-425 (p. 339); and Voigt, *Italianische Berichte aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland*, p. 134 n. 242. For an assessment of Marliani as historian, see M.-A. Arnould, 'La bataille du Sabis (57 avant notre ère). Les avatars d'un épisode d'histoire antique, à travers l'historiographie médiévale et moderne', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 20 (1941), 29-106 (pp. 93-5) and, by the same, *Historiographie de la Belgique*, Collection Nationale, LXXX (Brussels, 1947), p. 27.

⁸⁶ Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan, MS 873, ff. 473^v, 487 (Filelfo to Marliani from Milan, 3.VIII.1474 and 13.XI.1474). The contents of this manuscript, which will be mentioned again, are listed by A. Calderini, 'I codici milanesi delle opere di Francesco Filelfo', *Arch. stor. lomb.*, 42 (1915), 335-411 (pp. 354-73); but see also Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, I, 363-4.

Such men had their own contacts in the literary and artistic world of Renaissance Italy; in some cases they were attached to the ducal court in an official capacity; and they were a natural quarter to which the Italian *corps diplomatique* would turn for companionship and assistance.

This last aspect can be easily illustrated. When Pietro Aliprandi, a nuncio destined for England but temporarily delayed in the Low Countries, gave a dinner-party at Christmas 1472, his guests were another papal envoy, Domenico Albergati, and two locally resident Italian merchants, the Milanese Giorgio Ruffino and the Genoese Lazzaro Lomellini⁸⁷. In the spring of 1471 a Milanese merchant, Francesco Salvatico, was detained in Flanders as a suspected spy or enemy agent; the first person with whom he thought to intercede for his release was the Florentine, Tommaso Portinari⁸⁸, ducal councillor, manager of the Bruges branch of the Medici bank and perhaps the most eminent Italian merchant in the whole of the Burgundian Low Countries. Correspondence between Pietro Aliprandi and the duke of Milan passed through Portinari's hands⁸⁹, since the links between the Bruges and Milan branches of the Medici bank provided a ready and comparatively secure channel of communication which was used by other Milanese agents north of the Alps. The Milanese ambassador, Giovanni Pietro Panigarola, who spent eighteen months at the Burgundian court in 1475 and 1476, considered Portinari to be one of his best political informants. Panigarola found it advisable to remain on good terms with the Florentine for other reasons: the high cost of living at court forced him into debt and Portinari was one of those who lent him money⁹⁰. The Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Bembo, likewise borrowed from the Bruges branch of the Medici bank⁹¹. The mundane character of such contacts helps explain the background for those of a more literary or artistic nature.

In many areas, notably painting, music and printing, Italy was eager to learn from northern Europe and we find the Italian merchants

⁸⁷ Aliprandi to the duke of Milan, Bruges, 31.XII.1472 (ASM 515).

⁸⁸ Salvatico to the duke of Milan, Bruges, 26.IV.1471 (ASM 515).

⁸⁹ Aliprandi to the duke of Milan, Brussels, 10. & 23.III.1473 (ASM 515).

⁹⁰ Panigarola to the duke of Milan, Bruges, 1.VIII.1475, and Nancy, 20.XII.1475 (ASM 517).

⁹¹ Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Fondo Principale II V 13, f. 152 (letter of Bembo to Doge Niccolò Marcello from Dijon, 16.II.1474).

assisting such transmission. In 1459 and 1462, for example, Tommaso Portinari was charged with sending tapestries to Florence for Giovanni de' Medici, who had commissioned them from a craftsman of Lille; in 1474 he dispatched tapestries to Milan⁹². Flemish painting too enjoyed a wide circulation in the peninsula and this owed much to the activities of the Italian merchant community in Flanders⁹³. These merchants often bought or commissioned paintings from local artists on their own account. For example, the Flemish-Genoese Anselme Adournes⁹⁴ (from Adorno) bequeathed two paintings by Jan van Eyck to his daughters in his will drawn up in 1470; both pictures represented St. Francis of Assisi⁹⁵, a theme so uncommon in Flemish art of the time that it is permissible to speculate the choice was influenced by Anselme himself, a man who never forgot his Italian ancestry. The bulk of such paintings was likely to have consisted of portraits. Portinari had three executed, two by Hans Memling and one by Hugo van der Goes. His patronage of Memling betrays a Flemish as much as an Italian taste, for Memling was the chosen painter of the Flemish middle classes and has been described a 'a burgess painting for burgesses'⁹⁶. Similarly, Portinari exercised no discernible influence on the structure or iconography of the triptych done for him by van

⁹² *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medicis*, ed. A. Grunzweig, one volume only so far published (Brussels, 1931), I, 82, 98-100; J. F. Bergier, *Génève et l'économie européenne de la Renaissance*, École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section, Affaires et Gens d'Affaires, XXIX (Paris, 1963), p. 310. I have not seen S. Schneebalg-Perelman, 'Le rôle de la banque des Medicis dans la diffusion des tapisseries flamandes', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 38 (1969), 19-41. For Stefano Nardini and Arnaldo detto Boteram, see above, p. 155 and n. 55 respectively.

⁹³ See, for example, A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. G. Bing, 2 vols (Leipzig-Berlin, 1932), I, 179-229; R. Filangieri di Candida, 'La peinture flamande à Naples pendant le 15^e siècle', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, 2 (1932), 128-44; R. Weiss, 'Jan van Eyck and the Italians', *Italian Studies*, 11 (1956), 1-15, and 12 (1957), 7-21; and L. Castelfranchi Vegas, 'I rapporti Italia-Fiandra', *Paragone*, n.s., 15 (May 1966), 9-24, and 21 (November 1966), 42-69. The economic framework of these exchanges has recently been analysed by L. Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', *The Burlington Magazine*, 118 (1976), 188-98 (pp. 190, 196, 197).

⁹⁴ The name has many variants but throughout I have used this form, which is that found in his own will: A. de Poorter, 'Testament van Anselmus Adornes, 10 febr. 1470 (n. st.)', *Biekorf*, 37 (1931), 225-39 (pp. 227, 233); the will is written in Flemish, which was Anselme's mother-tongue.

⁹⁵ De Poorter, 'Testament', 234, and Weiss, 'Jan van Eyck' (1956), 6.

⁹⁶ K. B. McFarlane, *Hans Memling*, ed. E. Wind & G. L. Harriss (Oxford, 1971), p. 29.

der Goes and destined for the family chapel in Florence⁹⁷. Yet, on the other hand, precisely for the reason that such paintings were free from the influence of the Italians who commissioned them, they would be the more valuable to those in the peninsula who wished to study works typical of Flemish technique. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Cardinal Pietro Bembo was known to have possessed a painting by Memling ascribed to the year 1470⁹⁸; it is possible that, like so many of his books and manuscripts, Pietro inherited the picture from his father Bernardo, who was Venetian ambassador at the Burgundian court about that time.

For present purposes the northward direction of these cultural exchanges is of more interest than the southward flow. Often cited in this context are the sculptures commissioned in the 1460s from Andrea della Robbia by Guillaume Fillastre, bishop of Tournai and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, for his mausoleum in the abbey of Saint-Bertin at St. Omer. It is known that Portinari saw to their transportation from Pisa to Flanders. Also concerned in these arrangements was one Ange Tonis. The name resembles that of the Agnolo Tani who was for a time Portinari's colleague in the Medici bank at Bruges, but the identification of the former with the latter is uncertain⁹⁹.

The discovery of the Ficino manuscript copied for Domenico Albergati in 1475 prompted the suggestion that the men associated with the Medici bank in Bruges were also heralds of Italian humanism in the north¹⁰⁰. But, if this is difficult to prove, it is certain nonetheless that there was some connexion between the Italian merchant community, the Italian diplomats in the Low Countries and the ducal court, for the manuscript was later acquired by Raphael de Marcattellis¹⁰¹, who, as abbot of St. Bavo in Ghent from 1478 until his death in 1508, built up a large library containing many works whose selection

⁹⁷ S. N. Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs. A Study in Patronage*, California Studies in the History of Art, XIII (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1969), pp. 84-6.

⁹⁸ McFarlane, *Hans Memling*, p. 35 n. 33.

⁹⁹ J. du Teil, *Guillaume Fillastre, un amateur d'art au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1920), pp. 56-68; compare E. Vansteenbergh, 'Le testament de Guillaume Fillastre, abbé de Saint-Bertin et évêque de Tournai', *Bulletin historique de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie*, (1922), 695-728 (pp. 697, 713, 728).

¹⁰⁰ Saxl, 'A Marsilio Ficino Manuscript', 62.

¹⁰¹ Saxl, 62.

shows an awareness of the achievements of Italian humanism. Raphael was not only the illegitimate half-brother of Charles the Bold but he was also half-Italian himself: the family of his mother (of whom we know only that her first name was Barbara) belonged to the Italian colony in Bruges, while her husband, Bernardo de Marcatellis, from whom Raphael derived his surname, was the representative of a Venetian trading association in that city¹⁰².

Bibliophiles too, if on a smaller scale than Marcatellis, were the Adournes family, notably Anselme and his son Jean. Anselme's father and uncle had built in Bruges during the first half of the fifteenth century the so-called Jerusalem chapel modelled on the Holy Sepulchre¹⁰³ and it was here that the family assembled an important library which, besides the usual treatises on law and theology, contained works by classical authors as well as by Italian humanists such as Lorenzo Valla, although it is possible that works in this latter category were kept separately by Anselme and Jean Adournes¹⁰⁴. Anselme Adournes is now best remembered for the pilgrimage he made to the Holy Land in 1470-1. Departing from Bruges on 19 February 1470 with three companions, he travelled to Jerusalem by way of Italy, North Africa and Sinai, and returned home on 4 April 1471. On the journey through Italy Anselme was joined by his son Jean, who was then studying law at Pavia University, and it is to Jean Adournes that we owe a detailed,

¹⁰² A. Pinchart, 'Bibliothèque manuscrite de Raphaël de Mercatel, abbé de Saint-Bavon', *Le bibliophile belge*, n.s., 7 (1872), 21-34; K.G. van Acker, 'Marcatellis... Raphael de', in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, III (Brussels, 1966), cols. 507-12; and G.G. Meersseman, 'La raccolta dell'umanista fiammingo Giovanni de Veris "De arte epistolandi"', *Italia med. e uman.*, 15 (1972), 215-81 (pp. 252-5).

¹⁰³ J. de Smet, 'De familie Adornes en de Jeruzalemkerk te Brugge', *Toerisme*, 14 (1935), 361-4, and G. Bresc-Bautier, 'Les imitations du Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem (IX-XV^e siècles). Archéologie d'une dévotion', *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité*, 50 (1974), 319-42 (p. 338).

¹⁰⁴ A. Derolez, 'Vroeg humanisme en middeleeuwse bibliotheken. De bibliotheek van de Adorne's en van de Jeruzalemkapel te Brugge', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 85 (1972), 161-70. Inventories have been published by A. de Poorter, 'La bibliothèque de la chapelle de Jérusalem à Bruges, au XV^e siècle', *Revue des bibliothèques et archives de Belgique*, 7 (1909), 116-31 (pp. 119-30), and by A. Derolez, *Corpus catalogorum Belgii. De middeleeuwse bibliotheekscatalogi der Zuidelijke Nederlanden, I: Provincie West-Vlaanderen*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, LXI (Brussels, 1966), pp. 1-10. Jean Adournes donated some of his books to the charterhouse of Genadendal near Bruges: F. Hendrickx, 'De handschriften van de Kartuis Genadendal bij Brugge (1318-1580)', *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 47 (1973), 3-63, 241-90 (pp. 35-8, 286-8).

if not particularly elegant, account of the pilgrimage written in Latin ¹⁰⁵. Returning to Italy in the latter part of 1471, Jean obtained employment with Cardinal Guillaume Hugonet in Rome, Tuscany and the Papal States; during this time he discharged also a mission to King Ferrante of Naples. The younger Adournes was back in his native Flanders in 1480 and died at Lille in 1511, but the influence of his prolonged residence in Italy can be traced in the inventory of his books which was drawn up towards the end of the fifteenth century ¹⁰⁶.

Finally, in investigating the role of intermediary between Renaissance Italy and the Burgundian court played by the Italian merchant community, we might mention the association of Tommaso Portinari with Raimondo Marliani's will. After Marliani's death in 1475 some of his money was deposited with Tommaso in Bruges, while the latter's brother Accerito, manager of the Milan branch of the Medici bank, was designated to buy suitable lands in Pavia on which the Collegio Marliani could be erected. From a letter Francesco Filelfo wrote to Marliani on 13 November 1474 it emerges that Raimondo was then already apt to confer on other matters with the 'nobili humanissimoque viro Thoma Portanario', as Filelfo respectfully termed the Florentine ¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁵ The account was dedicated to King James III of Scotland, who had dealt with Anselme on both diplomatic and commercial matters and who about this time created him lord of Cortachy in Angus. A copy is in Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330, while a slightly longer version, containing annotations by Jean Adournes himself, is in Lille, Bibliothèque des Facultés Catholiques, 2.M.17. As far as I am aware, no copy of the manuscript has been traced in Scotland or England. A portion of the text has been published by R. Brunschvig (ed.), *Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du Nord au XV^e siècle. 'Abdalbāsīt B. Ḥalil et Adorne* (Paris, 1936), pp. 137-225 (pp. 151-79). A Flemish version written by Rombout van Doppere in 1491, *Tvoyage ghedaen te Synay ende te Jherusalem bij mer Ancelmus Adournes C^a*, was published by E. Feys, 'Voyage d'Anselme Adornes au mont Sinaï et à Jérusalem', *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, 5th ser., 4 (1893), 135-222 (pp. 149-213). On Anselme Adournes see M.E. de la Coste, *Anselme Adorne, sire de Corthuy, pèlerin de Terre-Sainte, sa famille, sa vie, ses voyages et son temps. Récit historique* (Brussels, 1855), and T. de Limburg Stirum, 'Anselme Adorne ou un voyageur brugeois au XV^e siècle', *Messenger des sciences historiques de Belgique* (1881), 1-43. On Jean Adournes see É. Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'église collégiale et du chapitre de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, 3 vols (Lille-Paris, 1896-9), II (1897), 164-70, and P. Glorieux, 'Un chanoine de Saint Pierre de Lille, Jean Adourne', *Bulletin du Comité flamand de France*, 18 (1971), 295-324.

¹⁰⁶ Above, n. 104.

¹⁰⁷ Volta, 'Del Collegio Universitario Marliani', 598, 602-3, 610; MS Triv. 873, f. 487.

Other contacts existed between the Italian merchant community and the world of Italian humanism, although in these instances it is difficult to state with certainty that their influence permeated to the ducal court itself. One of Portinari's business associates was Girolamo Strozzi; it was Strozzi, for example, who commanded the *San Giorgio* (a galley apparently owned jointly by the duke of Burgundy and the Medici bank) on a voyage between Pisa and Bruges in 1473 when its sister ship, the *San Matteo*, was captured by pirates from Danzig (Gdańsk)¹⁰⁸. Strozzi is interesting in another respect. He was responsible in 1475 and 1476 for some of the earliest printings of Italian works in the peninsula: these were vernacular editions of Donato Acciaiuoli and Poggio Bracciolini's histories of Florence and of Pliny's natural histories, printed in Venice. Moreover, in August 1476 a small number of copies of each of these publications was shipped to Bruges, where they seem to have found a ready sale¹⁰⁹. Francesco Tedaldi, the captain in 1473 of the ill-fated *San Matteo*, was another merchant with literary inclinations. In the early 1450s he composed a romantic novella in Latin, its theme showing some French influences. Tedaldi was also a correspondent of Marsilio Ficino, while his two sons were authors prominent in the circle of Lorenzo de' Medici¹¹⁰.

The litigation arising from the seizure of the *San Matteo* was to drag on to the end of the fifteenth century, but the questions of trade and diplomacy involved in the affair were soon to link both Tommaso

¹⁰⁸ The main item in the vessel's cargo was a quantity of alum; the Medici bank was the sole handler and distributor at this time of the so-called crusading alum from the papal mines at Tolfa and it was Portinari who, as manager of the Medici bank in Bruges, was in charge of marketing this alum in the lands of Charles the Bold. See F. E. de Roover, 'A Prize of War. A Painting of Fifteenth-Century Merchants', *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, 19 (1945), 3-12, and the same author's 'Le voyage de Girolamo Strozzi de Pise à Bruges et retour à bord de la galère bourguignonne "San Giorgio"', *Handelingen van het Genootschap "Société d'Émulation" te Brugge*, 91 (1954), 117-36. One of the other items of cargo was a triptych; the problems of the dating of the painting, on which Agnolo Tani (but probably not Portinari) is depicted, and of its questionable attribution to Memling are discussed by McFarlane, *Hans Memling*, pp. 15-27 (part II: 'The Authorship of the Danzig *Last Judgement*').

¹⁰⁹ F. E. de Roover, 'Per la storia dell'arte della stampa in Italia: come furono stampati a Venezia tre dei primi libri in volgare', *Bibliofilia*, 55 (1953), 109-17.

¹¹⁰ P. O. Kristeller, 'Una novella latina e il suo autore Francesco Tedaldi, mercante fiorentino del Quattrocento', in *Studi letterari. Miscellanea in onore di Emilio Santini* (Palermo, 1956), pp. 158-80; I have not seen the pages devoted to Tedaldi by G. Tournoy, 'De Latijnse prozanovelle in de Italiaanse Renaissance', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral diss., University of Louvain, 1974), I, 265-84.

Portinari and Anselme Adournes with Filippo Buonaccorsi known as Callimaco Esperiente, one of the most remarkable and widely-travelled humanists of his day¹¹¹. Early in 1474 Anselme Adournes was sent by Charles the Bold, along with the disreputable Fra Lodovico da Bologna, self-styled patriarch of Antioch, on a mission to the shah of Persia, Uzun Hasan, whose help was needed against the Turks; Anselme was probably chosen in part because of the experience of eastern affairs gained during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1470-1. For reasons which remain unclear, Anselme did not travel beyond Poland, but he was able there to come into contact with Filippo Buonaccorsi, who, since leaving Italy in 1468, had become one of King Casimir IV's chief ministers, and to ask, on behalf of his friend and colleague Tommaso Portinari, for Buonaccorsi's intercession with the Danzig authorities to secure the release of the goods seized the previous year by pirates based in the city. On 4 June 1474 Buonaccorsi wrote to Portinari from Toruń promising his help and proffering the Florentine his friendship and admiration as well¹¹².

If Tommaso Portinari could count among his ancestors the father of Dante's Beatrice¹¹³, a descendant of Dante himself frequented the Burgundian court in the time of Philip the Good and his son. This was Michele Alighieri, who, as ambassador of David Comnenos, emperor of Trebizond, visited Philip the Good as a member of the embassy representing several eastern potentates which was led by the Lodovico da Bologna who later, as we have just seen, accompanied

¹¹¹ G. Paparelli, *Callimaco Esperiente (Filippo Buonaccorsi)*, Collana Umanistica, IV (Salerno, 1971).

¹¹² F. Buonaccorsi, *Epistulae selectae*, ed. I. Lichońska, G. Pianko & T. Kowalewski, Bibliotheca Latina Medii et Recentioris Aevi, XVI (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow, 1967), pp. 64-9. In this letter Buonaccorsi attributes the failure of Anselme's mission, which was designed perhaps to obtain Polish support for Charles the Bold's crusading plans, to the 'machinationes' of the patriarch of Antioch, but, although Buonaccorsi had reservations about the duke of Burgundy's wisdom in choosing such an envoy, he did not doubt Lodovico da Bologna's credentials as the true representative of Charles the Bold. This is interesting, because Lodovico's claim to represent the duke of Burgundy was doubted by many at the time (including the shah of Persia himself), and it has since been treated sceptically also by historians: see, for example, A. Bryer, 'Ludovico da Bologna and the Georgian and Anatolian Embassy of 1460-1461', *Bedi Kartlisa*, 19-20 (1965), 178-98 (p. 195), and Y. Lacaze, 'Perse et Bourgogne dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, 86 (1972), 77-82 (p. 82). In fact, a payment made by Charles the Bold's *argentier* on 3 November 1473 to Lodovico for his journey to Uzun Hasan is recorded in ADN B 2096 (67, 202).

¹¹³ See the genealogical table in R. de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank*, p. 387.

Anselme Adournes to Poland in 1474¹¹⁴. Michele seems to have had connexions in the east on his own account as a trader in the Black Sea area, but the Turkish advance must have driven him to seek refuge in the west, for the Burgundian records mention payments made to him in 1468, 1470, and again in 1472¹¹⁵.

It is to the personnel of the ducal service itself that one looks for the most immediate evidence of Charles the Bold's attitude towards Italians. On such evidence his attitude can be described as one of trust and admiration. Italians were especially prominent in two main areas of the ducal service, the household and the army. The bulk of those in the household have long remained obscure for the simple reason that they are not recorded in chronicles but often only in unpublished Burgundian financial, or Italian diplomatic, records. We may start with those to whom the duke entrusted his health. Influenced perhaps by the success of Luca d'Alessandria in treating his father in the early 1460s¹¹⁶, Charles placed his greatest confidence as far as medical matters were concerned in an Italian doctor, Matteo de Clariciis from Troia in the kingdom of Naples; the Milanese ambassador Panigarola found that the duke sought Matteo's advice on a wide range of both medical and non-medical matters and that Matteo's friendship, because he always had ready access to the duke night and day, was solicited by the leading Burgundian courtiers¹¹⁷. It is likely too that the duke was treated during his illness at Lausanne in April 1476 by Angelo Cato, the doctor of the Neapolitan prince Don Federico¹¹⁸. For a time Charles retained another Italian doctor

¹¹⁴ Bryer, 'Ludovico da Bologna', 185-7.

¹¹⁵ Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, Chambre des Comptes, 1923, ff. 13^v-14; and ADN B 2079, f. 4, B 2080 (65,621), B 2083 (66,025, 66,034, 66,044), B 2086 (66,321) and B 2091 (66,692).

¹¹⁶ R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970), p. 132.

¹¹⁷ Panigarola to the duke of Milan, Nancy, 20.XII.1475 (ASM 517). Possibly Matteo was one of the numerous Italian exiles who found refuge at the Burgundian court in 1473 particularly; the first reference I have found to his presence there dates from the autumn of that year (Giacomo Galeota to Lodovico Gonzaga, Jussey, 29.IX.1473, AG 625). He is not mentioned in any Burgundian source.

¹¹⁸ In his dispatch from Lausanne of 28.IV.1476 (ASM 519), Panigarola informed his master that Don Federico's doctor was one of those brought in to treat Charles the Bold. Elsewhere (e.g. from Lausanne, 6.IV.1476, ASM 519) the ambassador referred to Federico's doctor as 'Angelo', while from the list of Federico's companions (above, n. 58) we know that it was Cato who was Federico's doctor. The probability that Cato did treat Charles at this time throws some interesting new light on a disputed passage in Commynes's memoirs: compare the *Mémoires*, ed. Calmette & Durville, II, 117, 129

(he was referred to as 'chirurgico'), a Master Agostino de' Cani da Voghera, of whom we know only that he sought service with the duke of Milan after the battle of Murten¹¹⁹.

Whether for their calligraphy or for their knowledge of Latin, Charles the Bold employed several Italians as secretaries. Much has been written about the most famous of them, Giovanni di Candida, who, during his time at the Burgundian court, found the leisure in the midst of his secretarial and diplomatic duties to produce a (disputed) number of exquisite portrait medals¹²⁰. More obscure, like his brother Matteo, was Salvatore de Clariciis da Troia, who is first recorded in the duke's service in the summer of 1474, when he was entrusted with a mission to Milan¹²¹. Salvatore was sent in the following year on several more journeys to Milan and, no easy thing to do, won the confidence of Galeazzo Maria, with whom he corresponded on mainly political affairs. The duke of Milan went so far as to ask his Burgundian ally that Salvatore should be preferred for the bearing of any future communications between them; he recommended the Neapolitan as 'bon Taliano', a fact which the duke of Milan said allowed him and Salvatore to understand each other perfectly¹²², presumably politically and psychologically as well as merely linguistically. Finally, it is probable that Charles the Bold's secretary named by the Milanese ambassador as Anselmino da Prato when he was sent to Milan in the spring of 1476¹²³ was another Italian.

Several of the duke's manservants were Italian. The only one recorded by the chroniclers was Gianbattista Colonna of Rome, who was credited with locating his former master's body after Charles the

with *Dépêches*, ed. Gingins La Sarra, II, 107 n. 1 and Armstrong (ed.), *The Usurpation of Richard III*, pp. 35-7.

¹¹⁹ Giovanni Bianchi to the duke of Milan from Turin, 6.VII.1476 (ASM 496).

¹²⁰ Tournetur, 'Jehan de Candida'; but see also Hill, *Corpus of Italian Medals*, II, 211-17.

¹²¹ Charles the Bold's letters of credence for him, addressed to the duke of Milan and dated Mechlin, 10.VII.1474 (written by Giovanni di Candida), are in the Archivio di Stato, Milan, Autografi 54 D3; see also Cicco Simonetta's *Diarii*, ed. A. R. Natale, Acta Italica B, I (Milan, 1962), p. 135, where his reception in Milan is described. Salvatore and Matteo had brothers who remained in Italy (Panigarola to the duke of Milan, Arras, 26.VII.1475, ASM 517). Perhaps one of these was the Dominicus de Clariciis de Troia who received his doctorate in canon law at the University of Ferrara in 1460, having studied previously at the University of Padua: G. Pardi, *Titoli dottorali conferiti dallo Studio di Ferrara nei sec. XV e XVI* (Lucca, 1900), pp. 38-9.

¹²² The duke of Milan to Panigarola, Pavia, 21.V.1475 (ASM 516).

¹²³ *Dépêches*, ed. Gingins La Sarra, II, no. 145.

Bold's death at the battle of Nancy in January 1477¹²⁴. Other examples could be multiplied from the Burgundian records; few of these persons were of much individual significance, but their geographical origins are of interest, because most areas of the peninsula were represented among the duke's personal servants. For instance, 'Jehan Baptiste dit Coghe' was a native of Ferrara, though 'Francisque dela Baye' merely described himself in 1473 as an Italian squire¹²⁵. The Piedmontese Ameo di Valperga, later a captain of a hundred lances in the Burgundian army, seems to have entered the duke's service first as a mere *escuyer d'escuyerie*¹²⁶. Of the Genoese we might mention Francesco Spinola, whom Charles described in March 1476 as 'noster domesticus servitor' in a letter to the duke of Milan¹²⁷. Naples was represented by, among others, Rainieri Mancella, who held the important post of governor of Nijmegen but who also served the duke as an *escuyer de chambre*¹²⁸.

The largest and most obtrusive group of Italians in Charles's service were the soldiers, who could be numbered in thousands and who enjoyed his special affection; his trust in them is illustrated by the fact that they were the largest contingent of foreign mercenaries in the Burgundian army and that by 1476 they held a disproportionately high number of the leading commands¹²⁹. Despite Sir Walter Scott's unflattering depiction of the count of Campobasso in *Anne of Geierstein* and *Quentin Durward*, by no means all of the duke's Italian mercenary captains were unlettered boors¹³⁰; some of them, after all, sought their livelihood in the trade of arms more through force of circumstances than by choice. Agostino di Lodovico Fregoso, for example, who arrived at the Burgundian court some time in 1474¹³¹,

¹²⁴ J. Molinet, *Chroniques*, ed. G. Doutrepont & O. Jodogne, 3 vols (Brussels, 1935-7), I, 167.

¹²⁵ ADN B 2079 (see the entries for February-December 1471), and B 2086 (66,378).

¹²⁶ S. Guichenon, *Histoire généalogique de la royale maison de Savoie*, 4 vols, 2nd edn (Turin, 1780), IV/1, 399.

¹²⁷ From the camp at Lausanne, 28.III.1476 (ASM 518).

¹²⁸ Salvatore de Clariciis to the duke of Milan, Geneva, 18.II.1475 (ASM 492).

¹²⁹ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 214-16.

¹³⁰ This is a point also made on behalf of the generality of Italian mercenaries during the later Middle Ages by M. Mallett, *Mercenaries and their Masters*, (London etc., 1973), pp. 221-4.

¹³¹ He appeared regularly on the rolls (*escroes*) of the ducal household from 8 October 1474 (ADN B 3438/119, 105) onwards; but he was at the Burgundian court

had enjoyed an education on the lines prescribed by the great humanist pedagogue Guarino da Verona; in 1466 his tutor Antonio Ivani wrote for him a treatise entitled *De claro adolescente instituendo*¹³². When Agostino left the Burgundian court in November 1475¹³³, it was to travel to the cultured court of the duke of Urbino, where he married the duke's natural daughter Gentile, herself a lady of cultivated tastes. By contrast, a lesser immersion in political affairs allowed Agostino's cousin, Antonio Fileremo Fregoso, who was several years his junior, to develop his poetic instincts to good effect¹³⁴. A similar example is provided by the ill-famed count of Celano, Ruggerone Accrocchiamento, who served in the Burgundian army from the beginning of 1473 until probably the battle of Nancy; Ruggerone was the brother of Pietro surnamed di Celano, a passionate collector of manuscripts who is known to have studied in Venice, where he attended the lectures given by Marcantonio Morosini's friend, Pomponio Leto¹³⁵. The Neapolitan Giacomo Galeota was considered by his compatriot Giovanni di Candida to be worthy of representation on one of that artist's portrait medals¹³⁶. Furthermore, Galeota was on good terms with Lodovico Gonzaga, whom he visited in Mantua in 1473, and with Galeazzo Maria; he corresponded with both rulers¹³⁷.

Perhaps the most interesting of such cultural affinities occurs in the case of Giacomo de Vischis, the Piedmontese captain usually

at least as early as the spring of that year: Sacramoro Chiozzo, writing to the duke of Milan from Rome, 2.V.1474 (ASM 76), reports him as then having just returned to Italy from Burgundy.

¹³² *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, ed. G. Mazzatinti *et al.*, 89 vols so far published (Forlì-Florence, 1890—), VI (1896), 96 (no. 121).

¹³³ Panigarola to the duke of Milan from the Burgundian camp outside Nancy, 24.XI.1475 (ASM 517).

¹³⁴ G. Dicemmi, 'Di un poeta "milanese" fra Quattro e Cinquecento: Antonio Fileremo Fregoso', in *Studi di filologia e di letteratura italiana offerti a Carlo Dionisotti* (Milan-Naples, 1973), pp. 117-35.

¹³⁵ D. Bloch, 'Quelques manuscrits de Pietro di Celano à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, 4 vols (Verona, 1964), I, 143-61, and Delz, 'Ein unbekannter Brief von Pomponius Laetus', 417-21. The date of Pietro's death is unknown, but a letter of the Neapolitan ambassador Palomar to King Ferrante from Luxembourg, 28.IV.1474 (ASM 515), mentions the fact that Ferrante had recently written to Palomar concerning the execution of the will made by 'Meser Pedro da Celano'.

¹³⁶ Hill, *Corpus*, I, 215 and II, no. 827.

¹³⁷ Some of this correspondence was published by Croce, *Vite di avventure di fede e di passione*, p. 117, by Cusin, 'Impero, Borgogna e politica italiana', 39, and by Gingins La Sarra (ed.), *Dépêches*, I, nos. 23, 31.

referred to by the Burgundian chroniclers as the count of St. Martin. On 12 April 1474 Francesco Filelfo wrote him a friendly letter recalling the time when they first became acquainted in Milan through their mutual interest in literature during the reign of Filippo Maria Visconti. Giacomo had written to Filelfo complaining that military duty in the service of Charles the Bold gave him no leisure to read or study. Filelfo, while urging his friend not to lose touch with Italy, told him also not to despair, for, he wrote, if Giacomo had no time for reading, he did as compensation have the opportunity to learn from life by observing the great duke of Burgundy in action, a prince whose deeds in Filelfo's opinion matched any example which antiquity could offer ¹³⁸.

Let us turn next to the duke himself. Charles the Bold was a prince of a most forceful and dominating character and it was he who set the tone for the Burgundian court during his comparatively brief reign. The extent to which the duke himself was influenced by the various groups of Italians around him depended, of course, on his prior readiness to be influenced; but such readiness can easily be detected. Charles had, after all, been brought up with an Italian prince, Francesco d'Este, and he counted among his numerous natural half-brothers Raphael de Marcatellis, whose mother was Italian. He gave pride of place on ceremonial occasions to the Italian diplomats at his court, and in his army he raised Italian soldiers to many of the chief commands because, as he declared more than once, he considered the peninsula's *condottieri* to be pre-eminent in their profession. His household contained a larger number of Italians in a variety of posts than has commonly been appreciated. In matters of dress also he was susceptible to Italian ideas; for example, for his entry into Dijon on 23 January 1474 he chose what was described as an Italian-style coat to wear over his armour ¹³⁹.

Regarding the duke's taste in literature there is no lack of evidence ¹⁴⁰. He would read the hagiographic and edificatory writings common to all French-speaking courts of the age and he was familiar

¹³⁸ MS Triv. 873, ff. 464^v-5. Charles the Bold was admired by many Italians, whether at the Burgundian court or in the peninsula itself, and it is interesting to note that Filelfo saw the quality of *temeritas*, which he ascribed to the duke of Burgundy in this letter, as an admirable quality synonymous with daring enterprise rather than with foolhardy impetuosity.

¹³⁹ E. Colombo, *Iolanda duchessa di Savoia 1465-78* (Turin, 1893), p. 284.

¹⁴⁰ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 163-4.

with the many chronicles and romances which formed a large part of the magnificent ducal library built up by his predecessors. During the reign of the last Valois duke, however, this library was enlarged by the addition of a number of translations which to some extent represented the classicizing strain of humanism and which were either commissioned by, or at least dedicated to, Charles himself. Most notable, perhaps, was the French translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* done by the Portuguese Vasco de Lucena from the elegant Latin version of Poggio Bracciolini. The duke was certainly acquainted with the literary style current in the Italian peninsula by other means. In 1472, for instance, he received fresh from the new Sorbonne press founded by Guillaume Fichet a copy of Cardinal Bessarion's *Epistolae et orationes de arcendis Turcis*¹⁴¹. On 5 April 1474 Francesco Filelfo wrote him a long letter, replete with classical examples and still unpublished, devoted to the same theme¹⁴². Shortly before this, as we saw earlier (above, p. 157), Louis XI had presented to the duke of Burgundy a volume that was probably an Italian version of Einhard's biography of Charlemagne.

Charles had some knowledge of both Latin and Italian. Thus, when Onofrio di Santa Croce was unable to follow his rapid French speech in 1468, Charles translated what he had said into Latin¹⁴³. According to Guillaume Fillastre, the duke was as familiar with Latin as with his mother-tongue, French¹⁴⁴. Charles himself was more modest, since he told the papal legate Nanni in 1475 that he was not familiar

¹⁴¹ A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1953), pp. 87-8. The work (printed no later than September 1471) was accompanied by a letter from Fichet himself urging the duke to imitate his illustrious predecessors by taking up arms to defend Christianity against the infidel; the letter was published by E. Legrand (ed.), *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe publiées intégralement pour la première fois d'après le "Codex Trivulzianus 873"*, Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes, 3rd ser., XII (Paris, 1892), pp. 260-2. See also the essay by C. H. Clough, 'The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter-Collections', in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. C. H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), pp. 33-67 (41).

¹⁴² MS Triv. 873, ff. 459^v-64. There is no record of the duke's receiving it, but we know it was sent because two years later Filelfo wrote again to the duke (Milan, 5.IV.1476) to remind him of the exhortation contained in his earlier letter (ff. 520-2^v).

¹⁴³ Onofrio di Santa Croce, *Mémoire*, p. 43 (translated in Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 27).

¹⁴⁴ G. Doutrepoint, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*, Bibliothèque du XV^e siècle, VIII (Paris, 1909), p. xxxii.

with Latin, except — typically — soldiers' Latin ¹⁴⁵. Moreover, a handful of recorded instances suggest that the duke was conversant with some classical authors, even if he was probably more often acquainted with their works through translations than in the original. The instructions he gave to Peter von Hagenbach, when sending him on a mission to the duke of Austria in 1472, misquoted Terence's *Eunuchus* ¹⁴⁶. In conversation with the Neapolitan ambassador two years later he used, in the vernacular, an expression which he attributed first to Scipio and then to Cato and which is reminiscent of Valerius Maximus ¹⁴⁷. He enlivened his discussions with the Milanese ambassador by paraphrasing the Vulgate ¹⁴⁸. One of the duke's fondest pastimes was to have read aloud to him in his few leisure hours some such classical work as Livy or Valerius Maximus recounting the deeds of Alexander the Great and other heroes of antiquity. Like a number of contemporary Italian rulers, he showed a great partiality for Livy, although it was almost certainly in French translation that he had Livy and other Roman authors read to him ¹⁴⁹. It is impossible to say whether or not Charles the Bold ever saw the manuscripts containing

¹⁴⁵ J. Chmel, 'Briefe und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Herzöge von Mailand von 1452 bis 1513 aus den Originalen', *Notizenblatt. Beilage zum Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, 6 (1856), 30-8, 56-64, 77-88, 109-12, 129-36, 156-60, 176-84, 193-201, 217-27, 245-56, 271-80, 298-302, 325-30, 346-52, 370-6, 395-400, 420-4, 443-8, 466-72, 484-94 (p. 82).

¹⁴⁶ Our German source has 'omnia prius experiri quam armis decertare decet sapientem': *Aktenstücke und Briefe zur Geschichte des Hauses Habsburg im Zeitalter Maximilians I.*, ed. J. Chmel, Monumenta Habsburgica, Abt. I, 3 vols (Vienna, 1854-8), I, 15. Compare *Eunuchus*, line 789: 'omnia prius experiri quam armis sapientiam decet'.

¹⁴⁷ The bishop of Capaccio to King Ferrante, Luxembourg, 24.VI.1474 (ASM 515): 'Rispose che Scipione, poi disse o vero Catone, soleva dire che era brutta cosa a dire: io non ci pensava. Volse dire una sententia se ha in Latino: turpe est dicere non putaram'. Compare Valerius Maximus, *Factorum dictorumque memorabilium libri novem*, VII, 2 ('A Romanis'): 2 ('Scipio vero Africanus turpe esse aiebat in re militari dicere "non putaram"...'). The ducal library contained both Latin and French texts of Valerius Maximus: G. Dogaer & M. Debae, *La librairie de Philippe le Bon. Exposition organisée à l'occasion du 500^e anniversaire de la mort du duc. Catalogue*, (Brussels, 1967), pp. 147-8. For assistance on the question of Charles the Bold's Latinity I am indebted to Mr Ian Moxon of the Department of Greek and Latin, University of Leeds.

¹⁴⁸ Panigarola to the duke of Milan, Lausanne, 26.III.1476 (ASM 518): 'Repplicò che li pendent leges et prophete'; compare Matthew 22.40. Another Latin expression used by the duke and recorded by Panigarola (to same from same, 22.III.1476, ASM 518), 'tolle moras nocunt semper differire paratis', may also be derived from the Vulgate.

¹⁴⁹ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, p. 163, and Tourneur, 'Jehan de Candida' (1919), 273-4.

an Italian translation of the first and third Decades of Livy which, illustrated with his and his father's portraits, were added to the royal library of Naples probably about the time that Don Federico visited the Burgundian court in 1475-6¹⁵⁰. We do know, however, that the duke was familiar also with that language. Thus, he was able to speak trenchantly in Italian (as well as in Latin) to the Venetian ambassador Bembo in 1473¹⁵¹ and, although he professed to find the language difficult, he was able to make a longish speech in Italian to the papal legate Nanni in 1475¹⁵².

Whatever the language, Charles enjoyed making lengthy harangues, as his contemporaries noted¹⁵³. This was, again, like his love of Livy, a characteristic he shared with some Italian princes. It is perhaps typical of his authoritarian manner that on occasions where formal utterances were required he seldom left the last word to his own capable and loquacious spokesmen, such as Guillaume Hugonet or Guillaume de Rochefort, but instead usually added some comments of his own when they had finished. Yet this is not to deny that the duke possessed a distinct flair for public speaking. For example, the speech he made to the Estates assembled at Salins in the county of Burgundy in July 1476 sounded to the Milanese ambassador as fluent as if Charles were reading from an open book placed in front of him; inevitably the oration included citations from Livy¹⁵⁴.

Still, although the last Valois duke was sympathetic in many ways to Italians and their ideas, it is difficult to conclude that he was influenced decisively by them. His Italianate veneer was little more than skin-deep and it is questionable if the duke could be described as a Renaissance prince in any meaningful sense¹⁵⁵. He was interested

¹⁵⁰ T. de Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, 4 vols (Milan, 1947-52), II (1947), 99-101.

¹⁵¹ AOGV III, f. 43^v. In the summary of de Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 79-80, the fact that Charles replied in Italian is not mentioned.

¹⁵² Chmel, 'Briefe und Aktenstücke', 82.

¹⁵³ Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 171-9.

¹⁵⁴ *Dépêches*, ed. Gingins La Sarra, II, 359.

¹⁵⁵ A conclusion reached, with no little authority, by R. Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London, 1975), p. 189. The opposite view has, however, been strongly argued by Gallet-Guerne, *Vasque de Lucène*, Part I, chap. III ('La portée du Traité des Faiz et Haultes Prouesses de Cyrus: Charles le Téméraire, prince de la Renaissance?'), on the grounds of similarities between Charles's political and military actions on the one hand and, on the other, Xenophon's descriptions of Cyrus and of the ancient world as transmitted in Vasco de Lucena's version of the *Cyropaedia*.

in classical literature not for its style or values so much as for its narrative content : its depiction of heroic rulers whom he might imitate and its illustrations of military lore which he might assimilate. His concept of glory was political and military; he wanted to be admired and remembered for his power and conquests; and his patronage of translators and adaptors of the classics was inspired much more by practical considerations than by a disinterested love of letters for their own sake. Above all, he was, as he wished to be, a man of action. In his patronage he might be instructively compared with Federigo da Montefeltro, because Federigo's own patronage of the arts created a style which other Italian rulers followed¹⁵⁶. The duke of Urbino undoubtedly knew the prestige value of artistic patronage in emphasising the splendour of the ruler who bestowed it. In addition, though, Federigo showed a genuine interest in and understanding of the arts, particularly architecture; and his concept of fame, certainly in his later years, was somewhat different from Charles the Bold's since it was based more on a cultivation of the arts of peace than on those of war.

If the concept of Renaissance humanism is to be rather narrowly construed as an adoption of mainly Italian theory and practice, though in a wide variety of areas of activity, cultural and otherwise, then it cannot strictly be applied to Charles the Bold except in a limited sense. Not only in matters of literary taste but also in the general sphere of government Italian influence was restricted. His authoritarian tendencies, for instance, were essentially the product of his own temperament and political circumstances rather than the result of imitating Italian 'tyrants'¹⁵⁷. The main influx of Italians to the Burgundian

¹⁵⁶ C.H. Clough, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts, 1468-1482', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1973), 129-44.

¹⁵⁷ In August 1473 Louis XI did, in fact, describe the duke of Burgundy as a tyrant : K. Bittmann, *Ludwig XI. und Karl der Kühne. Die Memoiren des Philippe de Commines als historische Quelle*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, IX, 2 vols so far published (Göttingen, 1964-70), II/1, 128 and n. 170. Our diplomatic records make clear that Charles did admire the resilience and shrewdness of King Ferrante and the power and splendour of Galeazzo Maria Sforza. Louis XI himself was accused by the chronicler Thomas Basin of emulating Italian tyrants (as Basin described them) such as Ferrante and Francesco Sforza and he told his confidant Philippe de Commines that he had followed Sforza's advice during the crisis of 1465 : Basin, *Histoire de Louis XI*, ed. C. Samaran & M.-C. Garand, *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*, XXVI, XXVII, XXX, 3 vols (Paris, 1963-72), I, 132, 134, and Commines, *Mémoires*, ed. Calmette & Durville, I, 57; these assertions, however, have been challenged, though for different reasons, by F. Ernst, 'Über Gesandtschaftswesen und Diplomatie an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit',

court did not, in any case, start until at least 1469, by which time Charles had attained maturity and had long since left behind the impressionability of youth; even after this, Italians were very rare at all levels of the mainstay of the Burgundian state, the financial and administrative bureaucracy¹⁵⁸ (as opposed to the army, court or ducal household). In matters of diplomacy too Charles went his own way. Bernardo Bembo and Lucas de Tolentis were accused by a hostile witness (the Sforzophile Andrea de Spiritibus, on whom see above, p. 155) in 1473 of grossly flattering the duke of Burgundy, of feeding his considerable vanity and of laying before him far-reaching plans for extending his power in Italy and the Empire¹⁵⁹, but in the specific instance of the Italian expedition scheme, which was persistently canvassed by the exiles around him, the duke listened attentively and did nothing¹⁶⁰. Charles's extensive financial resources and the greater degree of juridical legitimacy he enjoyed in comparison with, for example, the Sforza regime in Milan made for a divergence in attitude towards his subjects, whom he was more inclined to command than cajole, and created a different balance in the relationship between diplomacy and military power. On points of detail, such as the organization of divisions in his army or in the use of the term *conducteur* for captain¹⁶¹, Charles was demonstrably influenced by

Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 33 (1950), 64-95 (p. 79), and by Bittmann, *Ludwig XI. und Karl der Kühne*, I/1, 116-18, 128-33. Nonetheless, it has not previously been noticed that in 1475 Louis XI asked Ferrante to loan him four of his leading advisers so that, as he said, he might learn to govern France as the Aragonese monarch ruled Naples: Francesco Maletta to the duke of Milan, Naples, 29.VII.1475 (ASM 227).

¹⁵⁸ As can be seen from a cursory glance at Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finances*.

¹⁵⁹ Bittmann, *Ludwig XI. und Karl der Kühne*, II/1, 161.

¹⁶⁰ During Charles the Bold's reign there were recurring rumours that he nurtured designs in Italy, particularly the duchy of Milan; and, for example, E. Dürr, 'Galeazzo Maria Sforza und seine Stellung zu den Burgunderkriegen. Eine Untersuchung über die südfranzösisch-italienische Politik Karls des Kühnen', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 10 (1911), 259-415, who (despite the apparently limited scope suggested by the title) provided the best single account of Charles's relations with the various rulers of the peninsula, accepted that the rumours were in large measure justified. On the other hand, the fact is that Charles never did go to Italy, with or without an army; and, moreover, on one of the occasions when the rumours of his descent on the peninsula were at their strongest — towards the end of 1472 and during the early months of 1473 — it has been shown by Bittmann (II/1, 59-105) that the duke deliberately encouraged these rumours in order to disguise his real intentions, which centred on the conquest of the duchy of Guelders.

¹⁶¹ Molinet, *Chroniques*, I, 95, and H. L. G. Guillaume, *Histoire des bandes d'ordonnance des Pays-Bas*, Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, XL (Brussels, 1873), p. 54.

Italian military thinking, but on larger questions, such as winter campaigning, the use of terror tactics against opponents, the treatment of his mercenaries and the balance between offensive and defensive strategies, he consistently contradicted the standard theory and practice current in the peninsula. On one well-known occasion, in 1475, the Neapolitan ambassador Bertini firmly rebuked the duke for his cruelty towards the enemy, even though Charles in his defence quoted an Italian proverb to the effect that dead men do not make war¹⁶².

But what of the members of his court? Undoubtedly some of the duke's courtiers and advisers were less aware of the new humanist spirit than their master. It was for their convenience that Guillaume Fillastre wrote his history of the Order of the Golden Fleece in French rather than in Latin¹⁶³; likewise in 1473 most of those present were unable to follow when Charles replied in Italian and Latin to the Venetian ambassador during the chapter meeting of that Order held at Valenciennes¹⁶⁴. On the other hand, some of those around Charles were rather more closely attuned than he was to the changes taking place in Italy. Doubtless this awareness owed much to the fact that several of them had actually been there, either in a private capacity as students or as diplomats on official business. Probably an increasing number of the inhabitants of the lands ruled by the Valois dukes were at this period making the trip to Italy to study, particularly those interested in law, medicine and literature. The most famous of those who went to the peninsula to study during the reign of the last Valois duke was undoubtedly Rodolphus Agricola. But of special interest here are the students who later became councillors of Charles the Bold. Within this group the most popular subject was easily law and among the universities Pavia was preferred, followed by Ferrara and Padua, as the examples below illustrate.

Guy de Rochefort, younger brother of the more famous Guillaume, was described in 1472 as having been 'Rectore del Studio' in Padua

¹⁶² Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, I, 290.

¹⁶³ Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*, p. xxxii.

¹⁶⁴ AOGV III, f. 44. It is possible, however, that the man who recorded the proceedings on this occasion, Martin Steenberg, the clerk of the Order of the Golden Fleece, was able to follow the duke's initial reply to Bembo, because he was a notary by profession and therefore well-versed in Latin at least: Bartier, *Légistes*, pp. 69 n. 3, 151 n. 4; and see also *Codex diplomaticus temporalis S. Sedis. Recueil de documents pour servir à l'histoire du gouvernement temporel des États du Saint-Siège extraits des Archives du Vatican*, 3 vols (Rome, 1861-2), III, 455.

during the previous year; it is interesting to find the Milanese ambassador in Venice reporting in 1473 that Guillaume himself was reputed to be 'homo molto humano' ¹⁶⁵. During the 1450s Antoine de Montjeu studied law at Ferrara University and, having obtained his doctorate in both laws, he taught for a while at Pavia. Not surprisingly, considering this background, Charles the Bold selected Antoine for several missions to Italy, particularly to Venice in connexion with negotiations for the services of the republic's general, Bartolomeo Colleoni. He was in Venice for this purpose, along with the Portuguese Lupo (Lopez?) de Garda, in the summer of 1474 when the Milanese ambassador there described the two envoys as 'homini molto humani et de bona prudentia'. Antoine's experience of peninsular affairs must have been considerable and, when he left the Burgundian for the French service after 1477, Louis XI too employed him on missions to Italy ¹⁶⁶. Guillaume Hugonet, the duke's chancellor, may have studied in Italy: certainly his orations usually included detailed citations of classical authors such as Cicero and Valerius Maximus; but his brother Philibert, afterwards to be promoted bishop of Mâcon and then cardinal, undoubtedly did so, first at Turin and subsequently for six years at Pavia, where he received his doctorate of laws ¹⁶⁷. Other ecclesiastical councillors of Charles the Bold educated in Italy were Jean de Poupet, later bishop of Châlon, at Rome and possibly also at Pavia ¹⁶⁸, and Ferry de Clugny, afterwards bishop of Tournai and cardinal, at Bologna, Padua and Ferrara (his subject is known to have been law) ¹⁶⁹. Likewise, two of the duke's lesser officials studied at universities in the

¹⁶⁵ Letters to the duke of Milan from Venice of Ugucio Bisacia, 3.I.1472 and of Leonardo Botta, 18.II.1473 (ASM 358).

¹⁶⁶ C. Doret & A. de Monard, *Recherches sur Montjeu et ses seigneurs* (Paris, 1881), pp. 73, 252; *Memorie e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Pavia e degli uomini più illustri che v'insegnarono*, 3 vols (Pavia, 1877-8), I (1878), 55; Botta to the duke of Milan, Venice, 23.VI.1474 (ASM 359); *Lettres de Louis XI, roi de France*, ed. J. Vaesen & E. Charavay, 12 vols (Paris, 1883-1909), X, 106-8; and P.-M. Perret, *Histoire des relations de la France avec Venise du XIII^e siècle à l'avènement de Charles VIII*, 2 vols (Paris, 1896), II, 216-17.

¹⁶⁷ Paravicini, 'Zum Biographie von Guillaume Hugonet', pp. 446, 448 n. 39.

¹⁶⁸ Bartier, *Légistes*, pp. 405-6; a *D. Iohannes Papetti burgundus* lectured in law at Pavia between 1444 and 1447: *Codice diplomatico dell'Università di Pavia*, II/1, 484, 494, and *Memorie... Università di Pavia*, I, 51.

¹⁶⁹ J. Ruyschaert, 'La bibliothèque du cardinal de Tournai Ferry de Clugny à la Vaticane', in *Horae Tornacenses. Recueil d'études d'histoire publiées à l'occasion du VIII^e centenaire de la consécration de la Cathédrale de Tournai*, ed. L.-E. Halkin, H. Platelle & N. Huyghebaert (Tournai, 1971), pp. 131-41 (pp. 132, 139-40).

peninsula: Jacques Bouton, uncle of the chronicler Olivier de La Marche, at Pavia¹⁷⁰, and Philippe Baudot at Ferrara¹⁷¹. Paul de Baenst, president of the council of Flanders under Maximilian, was rector of Pavia in 1473 when he received from Arnold de Lalaing, provost of St. Mary at Bruges, a letter describing Charles the Bold's meeting with Frederick III at Trier that was translated into elegant Latin by Rodolphus Agricola at the request of his friend Antonio Scrofineo¹⁷². Jean Carondelet, first president of the Parlement of Mechlin, did not study in Italy but his brother-in-law was Anselme de Marenches, an Italian jurisconsult who taught law at the University of Dole; it was Jean Carondelet who later played an important role in supervising the education of Philip the Handsome; and his two sons and a grandson maintained the connexion with Italy¹⁷³. Finally, it might be remarked that the popularity of the Italian universities with certain Burgundian councillors was seen in the fact that some of them sent relatives to study at them. Charles the Bold's tutor and the reputed introducer into the Low Countries of humanist script, Antonius Haneron, sent his nephew to Padua University¹⁷⁴, while Anselme Adournes chose Pavia for his son Jean, who may also have studied at Bologna¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷⁰ *Codice... Pavia*, II/1, 441; for his relationship with de La Marche, see Bartier, *Légistes*, p. 347.

¹⁷¹ E. Picot, 'Histoire de l'Université de Ferrare', *Journal des Savants*, (February 1902), 80-102 and (March 1902), 141-58 (p. 88); on his career, see Bartier, *Légistes*, pp. 235, 281 n. 6, 340.

¹⁷² Printed in the collection of Agricola's *Opuscula* which was published by Dirk Martens at Louvain in 1511 (ff. bi-ci'). As far as I am aware, the identity of Agricola's friend has never been clarified, but he was possibly the Antonio Scrovigni of Pavia who lectured in medicine at the University of Pavia in 1493: *Memorie... Pavia*, I, 121.

¹⁷³ J.-M. Suchet, 'Jean Carondelet, grand chancelier de Flandre et de Bourgogne, 1428-1501', *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Besançon* (1898), 280-99 (pp. 284, 295, 299), and E. Kerckhoffs-De Heij, 'De functionarissen bij de Grote Raad van Mechelen', *Spiegel Historiae*, 8 (1973), 586-93 (p. 591).

¹⁷⁴ G. I. Lieftinck, 'Antoine Haneron introduisant l'écriture humanistique dans les Pays-Bas', in *Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies in Honour of Berthold Louis Ullmann*, ed. C. Henderson, Jr., *Storia e letteratura*, XCIII-IV, 2 vols (Rome, 1964), II, 283-4, and *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medici*, I, 92-4. The works of Haneron are to be published in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*; for the first and second instalments see J. IJsewijn-Jacobs, 'Magistri Anthonii Haneron (ca. 1400-1490) opera grammatica et rhetorica', *Hum. Lov.*, 24 (1975), 29-69; 25 (1976), 1-83.

¹⁷⁵ De Poorter, 'La bibliothèque de la chapelle de Jérusalem', 113 says Jean studied at Bologna in the 1470s, after his return from the Holy Land, and obtained his doctorate there; he is the only writer, however, to assert this. Glorieux, 'Un chanoine de Saint Pierre de Lille, Jean Adourne', 298-9 describes, with the aid of Jean's own autobiographical

Of this group perhaps the one most deeply influenced by the experience of studying in the peninsula was the protonotary apostolic Henri de Berghes (or Bergen), son of the lord of Glimes. In May 1476 Charles the Bold sent him on a mission to Rome, and the Milanese ambassador in Turin, who met him after his passage over the Alps, tells us that Henri had already obtained his doctorate, having studied for six years in Italy, four at Perugia and two in Rome, where he had been attached to the papal curia. In fact, the ambassador could not praise Henri too highly. At the age of only twenty-six, he was 'affinato in tutto, litterato, dottore, docto, gentile, costumato, grave, riverente, prompto, eloquente, humano, praticho' and so on. After this remarkable series of adjectives, perhaps the most interesting compliment paid to Henri by the ambassador was that he did not seem like the German he was (Flemings being often classed as Germans at this epoch), because he spoke Italian as if he had been born in Tuscany itself! The contrast with the imperial envoy Dr Georg Hessler, whom Henri was accompanying, was striking, for Hessler's Italian was so bad (despite the fact that he had studied law at Pavia and Rome¹⁷⁶) that he and the ambassador had been forced to converse in Latin¹⁷⁷.

To those who had not studied in Italy, and sometimes to those who had, diplomatic missions afforded opportunities for Burgundian courtiers to travel to the peninsula and inhale the refined atmosphere of its princely courts. For example, the splendid reception accorded by Francesco Sforza in 1459 to Philip the Good's embassy led by the duke of Cleves and Jean de Croy, count of Chimay, on its way to the Congress of Mantua seems to have made a lasting impression at the Burgundian court; and, although Charles the Bold's first Italian alliances were with Naples and Venice, there is evidence of a strong pro-Milanese party among the duke's entourage for several years before 1475, when he made the treaty of Moncalieri with Galeazzo Maria. In February 1472 Jean de Croy's son Philippe, lord of

notes, his studies at Pavia from 1465 to 1470, although he is known only to have obtained his licentiate in law there, and his epitaph too describes him simply as licentiate, not as doctor (Glorieux, pp. 296, 324).

¹⁷⁶ A. A. Strnad, 'Der apostolische Protonotar Dr. Georg Heßler. Eine biographische Skizze', *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 65 (1970), 29-53 (p. 35).

¹⁷⁷ Francesco Pietrasanta (Giovanni Palomar's friend: above, p. 154) to the duke of Milan, Turin, 20.V.1476 (ASM 495).

Quiévrain, displayed great eagerness to return home from Naples through Milan in order to pay his respects and those of his father to the duke¹⁷⁸. The visit probably never took place, however, because Burgundian relations with Milan were then somewhat strained, although Philippe said he hoped to see them improved. The Burgundian ambassadors were also invited to Mantua at this time by Lodovico Gonzaga, who wished to repay the kindness shown by one of them (unnamed, but presumably the lord of Quiévrain) to his son when Rodolfo was at Charles the Bold's court two years previously; the visit took place amid much ceremony at the end of March¹⁷⁹.

The friendships which could arise from such diplomatic contacts were sometimes expressed by gifts. In 1458, for instance, King Ferrante presented Jean Jouffroy, bishop of Arras, with two books on canon law¹⁸⁰. Philippe de Croy's tastes, however, were less literary, for it was probably on the occasion of his embassy to Naples in 1472 that Ferrante gave him a gold chain — presumably a fitting gift — which Philippe proudly bequeathed to his brother Michael in his will in 1482¹⁸¹. Similarly, while he was in Naples in 1472, Philippe talked of visiting Venice, not, however, because he wished to see the city's artistic treasures but in the hope of obtaining some of the relics of Saint Barbara in the possession of Cardinal Bessarion¹⁸².

Philippe Pot, lord of La Roche¹⁸³, was perhaps more open than the lord of Quiévrain to the Italian spirit. He visited the duke of Milan in 1468 and he was in Piedmont in 1476, when he expressed admiration for the duke of Milan in conversation with Galeazzo Maria's ambassador in Turin¹⁸⁴. This admiration, though, did not extend to King

¹⁷⁸ Francesco Maletta to the duke of Milan, Naples, 17.II.1472 (ASM 221).

¹⁷⁹ Lodovico Gonzaga to the duke of Milan, Mantua, 7. and 30.III.1472 (ASM 395).

¹⁸⁰ C. Kohler & L. Delisle, 'A propos d'une lettre de Ferdinand I^{er} d'Aragon, roi de Naples, à Jean Jouffroi, évêque d'Arras', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 57 (1896), 699-708.

¹⁸¹ Bartier, *Légistes*, p. 137 n. 5. The warm reception accorded to Anselme Adornes and his companions by King Ferrante in December and January 1470-1, which is not recorded in the Latin accounts of their pilgrimage, is described by Rombout van Doppere: Feys, 'Voyage d'Anselme Adornes', 210-12.

¹⁸² Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, MS 8170 (Ital. VII, cod. 398), reg. I, f. 41 and II, f. 7 (Zaccaria Barbaro, Venetian ambassador, to Doge Niccolò Tron, Naples, 21.I.1472 and 16.II.1472).

¹⁸³ A brief biography of this interesting but neglected figure is provided by H. Chabeuf, 'Charles le Téméraire à Dijon en janvier 1474', *Mémoires de la Société bourguignonne de géographie et d'histoire*, XVIII (Dijon, 1902), pp. 339-49.

¹⁸⁴ The duke of Milan to Jean de Bourgogne, Novara, 11.X.1468 (ASM 515), and *Dépêches*, ed. Gingins La Sarra, II, 224.

Ferrante, whose proposal by Charles the Bold for election to the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1473 Pot was the only member of that order to oppose openly¹⁸⁵. Already at Philip the Good's court he had been nicknamed *bouche de Cicéron*, but it is reasonable to speculate that the eloquence he displayed at the French Estates-General held at Tours in 1484 was refined through his contact with Italy during the reign of Charles the Bold.

Guillaume de Rochefort, who belonged to the inner circle of the last Valois duke's advisers, travelled extensively in Italy on diplomatic missions, notably to Savoy and Piedmont, Venice, Rome and possibly Milan. The brilliant speech he delivered before the doge and senate of Venice in December 1471 made such an impression as to cause one of its audience to transcribe it, so that it has been preserved in both manuscript and incunabular form¹⁸⁶. In the case of Antoine de Montjeu, as we have seen (above, p. 186), the influence of education in Italy was reinforced to good effect by diplomatic missions to the peninsula. On the other hand, the tastes of Anthony of Burgundy, elder natural half-brother of Charles the Bold, were more similar to those of Philippe de Croy, which perhaps fortifies the view that there was a clear division in intellectual outlook between the legists and administrators on the one side and the traditional nobility on the other among the councillors of the duke of Burgundy¹⁸⁷. In 1475 Anthony conducted an embassy on a circular route through Italy, travelling to Naples by way of Piedmont and Lombardy and returning through Rome, Ferrara and Venice. He seems to have regarded his visit to Venice as an opportunity for sightseeing; when he got there, his Latin was strong enough to allow him to converse at length with the Milanese ambassador¹⁸⁸, his Italian being presumably weak or non-existent. On his way to Venice he passed through Viterbo, where

¹⁸⁵ AOGV III, 32.

¹⁸⁶ G. B. Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum Monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum*, ed. J. Ceruti (Venice, 1779), pp. 862-7, and J. Mangin, 'Guillaume de Rochefort, conseiller de Charles le Téméraire et chancelier de France. Notice sur Guy de Rochefort' (Unpublished diss., Paris, 1936), pp. 22-3. I am indebted to M. Mangin for most kindly arranging to have his dissertation sent for my perusal to the Archives Départementales du Nord when I was studying in Lille; it is still, as far as I know, the only monograph on this important figure.

¹⁸⁷ Bartier, *Légistes*, pp. 277-80. Anthony was a keen bibliophile, although his tastes were fairly conventional: A. Boinet, 'Un bibliophile du XV^e siècle. Le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne', *Bibl. École des Chartes*, 67 (1906), 255-69.

¹⁸⁸ Leonardo Botta to the duke of Milan, 28.V. and 21.VI. 1475 (ASM 361).

he said his motive for coming to Italy was simply to take advantage of the indulgences being issued in Rome to pilgrims during the Jubilee year of 1475¹⁸⁹.

Missions to Rome stood slightly apart from the others, and clerics rather than laymen were usually chosen to discharge them, such as Ferry de Clugny in 1456 and 1470¹⁹⁰. Occasionally these clerical subjects of the duke would obtain some minor preferment in Rome or even high ecclesiastical office, like Philibert Hugonet (brother of Charles the Bold's chancellor Guillaume), who was promoted cardinal in 1473 and who died in Rome eleven years later¹⁹¹. But such men, while they enjoyed the advantages of staying in what was perhaps the major Italian centre of humanist activity, were also to that extent lost, by reason of their residence in Rome, to the Burgundian court¹⁹², and, except possibly by correspondence, could not act as intermediaries between the court and the cultural life of the peninsula.

A notable number of the foreign residents in Rome at this period were likely to have been subjects of Charles the Bold; thus, we are told, for example, that a sizeable proportion of the huge crowds who watched in April 1476 a tournament organized in Rome by Count Girolamo Riario were *Borgognoni*¹⁹³. A distinct group among them were the duke's proctors at the curia; they have as yet been little studied, but we might mention here Henri de Berghes and Pierre (or Pieter) Bogaert, since neither of them preferred to stay in Rome at the expense of a career in their native land. Henri, as we saw earlier,

¹⁸⁹ *Cronache... Viterbo*, ed. I. Ciampi, p. 410.

¹⁹⁰ Bartier, *Légistes*, p. 281 n. 8.

¹⁹¹ On his death in 1484 a funeral oration was composed by Antonio Lolli of San Gimignano for Antonio's master, Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini: Strnad, 'Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini', 333 and n. 45, and Paravicini, 'Zur Biographie von Guillaume Hugonet', 446 n. 28. Similarly, a classically-modelled funeral oration was pronounced for Ferry de Clugny, who died in Rome in 1483, by Giovanni Antonio di Sangiorgio, bishop of Alessandria: Ruysschaert, 'La bibliothèque du cardinal de Tournai', 132 and n. 3.

¹⁹² Sometimes even their libraries were lost also, as in the case of Ferry de Clugny: Ruysschaert, 'La bibliothèque', 131-41 suggests that Ferry took most of his library with him when he went to Rome in 1482 and that these books and manuscripts found their way into the new Vatican Library soon after his death.

¹⁹³ S. Infessura, *Diario della città di Roma*, ed. O. Tommasini, Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto Storico Italiano, Scrittori, Secolo XV (Rome, 1890), p. 81. On the Flemings in particular much information is contained in M. Vaes, 'Les fondations hospitalières flamandes à Rome du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle', *Bull. Inst. hist. belge de Rome*, 1 (1919), 161-371.

was already a man of refinement acquainted with both the curia and the world of Italian learning when he was sent on a mission to Pope Sixtus IV in May 1476 in connexion with the tripartite negotiations then in progress between Charles the Bold and two of his allies, Emperor Frederick III and the duke of Milan; he was instructed to stay on in Rome, after the completion of this mission, as the duke's proctor¹⁹⁴. Less well known is Pierre Bogaert, a cleric who became archdeacon of Valenciennes and dean of Saint Donatian in Bruges and who rose high also in the ducal administration, being appointed one of Charles the Bold's *généraux des aides* in 1473¹⁹⁵. Bogaert was, without doubt, a man of wide experience. He worked as a clerk in the papal curia under successive popes from Nicholas V to Paul II¹⁹⁶ and during this time he doubled as proctor in Rome of both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold¹⁹⁷. In 1472 he was a member of the lord of Quiévrain's embassy to Naples and two years later he was sent there again, this time unaccompanied, to ask King Ferrante on Charles the Bold's behalf for help against Louis XI. During this second visit he put his linguistic skills to good use in acting as translator for the ambassador of King Christian I of Denmark, who was due shortly to arrive in the peninsula¹⁹⁸.

It remains to answer the question of what the general effects were in the Burgundian Low Countries both of the presence of so many Italians at Charles the Bold's court and of the travels and studies in the peninsula of his diplomats and councillors. It has been said that, while it is easy enough to identify and enumerate this Italian influx, it is difficult to show how it bore fruit¹⁹⁹. Some indication, however, is provided in a letter written in 1474 by the Neapolitan ambassador,

¹⁹⁴ Panigarola to the duke of Milan from Lausanne, 11.V.1476 (ASM 519); see also above, p. 188.

¹⁹⁵ Bartier, *Légistes*, p. 73 n. 1.

¹⁹⁶ Vaes, 'Les fondations', 216 n. 3 (on p. 217) and 218 n. 5 (on p. 219); A. I. Cameron, *The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices, 1418-1488*, St. Andrews University Publications, XXXV (Oxford, 1934), pp. 63, 280.

¹⁹⁷ W. von Hofmann, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der kurialen Behörden vom Schisma bis zur Reformation*, 2 vols, Bibliothek des Kgl. Preuss. Historischen Instituts in Rom, XII-III (Rome, 1914), II, 197; O. Cartellieri, 'Über eine burgundische Gesandtschaft an den kaiserlichen und päpstlichen Hof im Jahre 1460', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 28 (1907), 448-64 (p. 463); and Cameron, *The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices*, p. 63.

¹⁹⁸ Francesco Maletta to the duke of Milan, Naples, 22.IV.1474 (ASM 225).

¹⁹⁹ Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, p. 189.

Giovanni Palomar, to his Milanese friend, Francesco Pietrasanta²⁰⁰. In this letter Palomar told his friend how he had tried to convince the members of the Burgundian court of the glory of the duke of Milan (who was then regarded as an enemy because of his alliance with Louis XI); Palomar's advocacy of Galeazzo Maria was rejected by all except those whom the ambassador described as Italianate ('alguni di questa payse che sonno intalianati el concedono'). The Italianate label was applied also to Cardinal Philibert Hugonet and to Lupo de Garda²⁰¹.

The example of the latter, Charles the Bold's Portuguese physician, serves as a reminder that not all the humanizing or classicizing influences at the court of the last Valois duke, in so far as they originated outside the Low Countries, came from Italy. The role as patroness of humanism played by Charles the Bold's Portuguese mother, Duchess Isabella, should certainly not be overlooked or underrated (nor, indeed, her formative influence on the mentality of her son). It was Isabella who was responsible for bringing about many of the translations done during her son's reign; for example, she encouraged Vasco de Lucena to translate Poggio's version of the *Cyropaedia* into French²⁰². Vasco was the single most important and productive translator under Charles the Bold, but his writings were not, possibly, the only area in which his influence was felt. His own library may have been indicative of his interests; we know nothing of it except that he lent one of his books, a Latin work, to Guillaume Hugonet²⁰³. Again, Vasco went as ambassador to Naples with Philippe de Croy in 1472 and it was he who delivered the formal initial oration on behalf of his companions when they arrived in Naples in January that year²⁰⁴.

If Italian influence was not unlimited at the court itself, its extent outside the immediate court circle was perhaps even more restricted. It is possible that men such as Domenico Albergati, Tommaso Portinari and Raphael de Marcatellis were able to forge links between the

²⁰⁰ From Luxembourg, 29.IV.1474 (ASM 515).

²⁰¹ Sacramoro Chiozzo to the duke of Milan, Milan, 29.IV.1476 (ASM 80) and Leonardo Botta to the same, Venice, 23.VI.1474 (ASM 359).

²⁰² C. C. Willard, 'Isabel of Portugal, patroness of humanism?', in *Miscellanea di studi e ricerche sul Quattrocento francese*, ed. F. Simone (Turin, 1967), pp. 519-44, and Gallet-Guerne, *Vasque de Lucène*, pp. 12-17.

²⁰³ Bartier, *Légistes*, p. 282 n. 6.

²⁰⁴ Maletta to the duke of Milan, 22.I.1472 (ASM 222).

Italians at court, on the one hand, and the academic, merchant and monastic communities of the Valois Low Countries on the other; but further research would be needed to clinch the argument²⁰⁵.

Perhaps it is more important to consider the Italians' influence in chronological terms, which is to pose the question whether the Italian milieu so noticeable during Charles the Bold's reign made any lasting impact. Some traces of this impact can indeed be found. For example, Raimondo Marliani founded a scholarship intended to enable a student from the University of Louvain to study in Italy and it is possible that he passed on his humanist enthusiasm to his successor at Louvain, Robertus a Lacu²⁰⁶. Henri de Berghes, who of all the last Valois duke's officials might most reasonably be described as Italianate, was one of those to receive a copy of Matthaeus Herbenus's edition of Angelo de Curibus Sabinis's poem on events at Liège²⁰⁷ and he is remembered also as one of the first patrons of Erasmus²⁰⁸.

To seek instances of a lasting Italian impact, however, is again to examine one aspect of the old problem of continuity in the Burgundian Low Countries from the Valois to the Habsburg periods.

²⁰⁵ We know that the contacts of Jan van den Veren (the tutor of Henri de Berghes) with Raphael de Marcatellis and Antonius Haneron enabled him to obtain copies of letters and speeches by Italian humanists for inclusion in his *Ars epistolandi*. This work was included in the epistolary published by Carolus Viruli at Louvain in 1476 which became a bestseller, enjoying several reprints in the Low Countries, as well as in Germany and France, up to 1520: Meersseman, 'La raccolta dell'umanista fiammingo Giovanni de Veris "De arte epistolandi"', 237, 277; see now also C. H. Clough, 'The Cult of Antiquity: Letters and Letter-Collecting', p. 48. Adrian de But, monk of the Abbey of Ter Duinen at Koksijde, was a cultured man who recorded in his chronicle not only political affairs (his opinion of Charles the Bold was clearly not high) but also events of cultural importance. He took a particular interest in the deeds of Italian humanists and showed a familiarity with the works of some of them: *Chronique d'Adrien de But complétée par les additions du même auteur in Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne (textes latins)*, ed. J. B. M. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 3 vols (Brussels, 1870-6), I, 211-717 (pp. 157, 177, 274, 286, 348, 364-5, 459). Adrian's superior, Abbot Jan Crabbe, was himself a man of learning and refinement, who had been to Rome in 1458 and whose library showed an appreciation of the works of Italian humanists: N. Huyghebaert, 'Trois manuscrits de Jean Crabbe, abbé des Dunes', *Scriptorium*, 23 (1969), 232-42. A further Italian connexion was provided by Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini, who from 1459 received a pension from the abbey: Strnad, 'Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini', 161.

²⁰⁶ De Vocht, *History*, I, 138-9, and IJsewijn, 'The Coming', p. 234.

²⁰⁷ E. Bacha, 'Deux écrits de Mathieu Herbenus sur la destruction de Liège par Charles-le-Téméraire', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 67 (1907), 385-90 (p. 386), and IJsewijn, 'The Coming', pp. 254-5.

²⁰⁸ *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et auctum*, ed. P. S. Allen et al., 12 vols (Oxford, 1906-58), I, 160-6, 359-60, 587-90.

Certainly the discontinuity in terms of Italian personnel is striking. Because of the changing political climate, the Italian *corps diplomatique* had evaporated by the end of 1476; probably the last ambassador to leave, towards the end of August 1476, was the Milanese Giovanni Pietro Panigarola²⁰⁹; and, because of the unpromising nature of Charles the Bold's successors as potential allies, at least a decade was to pass before Italian ambassadors once more appeared in large numbers in the Low Countries.

The same thinning process was at work in the duke's entourage. For example, Raimondo Marliani died in 1475 and the duke's Neapolitan secretary, Salvatore de Clariciis, left the Burgundian court in February 1476 in order to return to his homeland, while his brother Matteo died in July of that year²¹⁰. Perhaps a very small number of the Italian survivors of the last Valois duke's household, such as the Neapolitan Rainieri Mancella²¹¹, were retained for a time by Maximilian; but the Habsburg prince, at least in his early years, came nowhere near to matching his predecessor's fondness for Italians; and among the native members of the ducal administration there may have existed some degree of anti-Italian prejudice, as Giovanni di Candida, who was probably the longest survivor in the Low Countries of Charles the Bold's Italians, seems to have experienced²¹².

Similarly with the last Valois duke's Italian soldiers. By the end of 1476 the peninsular contingent in the army had been decimated by death and desertion; losses were not made good by fresh recruiting; and of the Italians who were not killed or captured at the battle of Nancy few seem to have been re-enlisted by Charles the Bold's successors. Perhaps Mary and Maximilian did not have sufficient money to pay for the size of army which Duke Charles had thought necessary; but another factor may have been the vigorous objections of their subjects to the concept of a standing army symbolized by the Italian mercenaries.

²⁰⁹ He arrived back in Galiat in the duchy of Milan on 9 September: the duke of Milan to Francesco Pietrasanta in France, Galiat, 10.IX.1476 (ASM 542).

²¹⁰ Panigarola to the duke of Milan, Jougne, 10.II.1476 (ASM 518) and Salins, 22.VII.1476 (ASM 520).

²¹¹ L. P. Gachard, 'Analectes historiques. Cinquième série', *Bull. Comm. Roy. d'Hist.*, 2nd ser., 9 (1857), 103-256 (p. 121), and ADN B 2112 (68,071) record payments made to him as a squire of Maximilian (Renier Mancel/Regnier Mancella) in September and October 1477.

²¹² Tourneur, 'Jehan de Candida' (1919), 45.

There was dispersal too among many of the former duke's humanist-inclined councillors and officials. In 1477, for example, Guillaume Hugonet was put to death, while, within a few years, Guillaume de Rochefort and Antoine de Montjeu had transferred their loyalties to Louis XI. In many ways Burgundy's loss was France's gain. By the time of his death in 1492, for instance, Guillaume de Rochefort, whose talents raised him to the position of chancellor of France under King Charles VIII, had become a central figure in the circle of humanists which emerged in Paris during the latter years of the fifteenth century. He enjoyed the friendship of, and encouraged, many of the Italian writers who from the 1480s onwards made their way to France in increasing numbers. Thus, it was at the French court that he resumed his acquaintanceship with his former master's Neapolitan secretary, Giovanni di Candida, who found refuge there after obtaining from Maximilian permission to leave the Burgundian court in 1480. To Guillaume, Candida dedicated in 1485 or 1486 a short memoir outlining the claims of the French monarchy to the kingdom of Naples, and it was Guillaume again who urged Candida to write a longer history of Sicily (and Naples), a work which the chancellor did not live to see completed²¹³.

Why the contacts between Guillaume de Rochefort and Giovanni di Candida should have been so fruitful at the court of King Charles VIII of France in the 1480s but not at that of Duke Charles of Burgundy a decade previously is not easy to explain. Certainly, the general intellectual climate during the reign of the last Valois duke was not unfavourable to interchange, and the potential did exist, both in, on the one hand, the sympathy of the ruler himself and of several of his leading advisers to Italian ideas and, on the other, in the connexion with the ducal court of an unprecedentedly large number of cultivated Italians representing most of the peninsula's major centres of thought and culture.

Perhaps the easiest explanation is simply that the brevity of the duke's reign did not allow sufficient time for the new seed to take root. For this, as for other reasons, the historian can with hindsight

²¹³ Couderc, 'Jean de Candida, historien' (1924), 329-32, 336, and Mangin, 'Guillaume de Rochefort', pp. 102-5. On the intellectual climate of Charles VIII's court see now Y. Labande-Mailfert, *Charles VIII et son milieu (1470-1498). La jeunesse au pouvoir* (Paris, 1975), chap. XIX.1: 'Physiognomie du règne. Les aspects culturels: éducation, lettres, arts'.

rebuke the duke for his obstinate refusal to avoid battle against hopeless odds beneath the walls of Nancy in January 1477. Although further research may modify the picture, the evidence presented above suggests that the Italian presence at the Burgundian court in the reign of Charles the Bold did not make such a deep or permanent impact as might have been expected. It may, therefore, be fair to conclude that in this, as in so many others of the innovatory and forward-looking aspects of his rule, the reign of the last Valois duke represented a false start and was characterized more by short-lived experiments than by durable achievement.

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POLIZIANO Y LOS ELOGIOS
DE LAS LETRAS EN ESPAÑA (1500-1540)

Realmente la bibliografía dedicada a resaltar la pobreza del humanismo español es muy abundante ¹, demasiado abundante para que no haya algo de cierto en ello. Sin embargo, me pregunto cómo es posible definir tan rápidamente un movimiento que en definitiva no ha sido estudiado en absoluto de una manera sistemática. Casi siempre se toma una serie de rasgos negativos de los que se extrae una conclusión general, pero nunca se ha intentado estudiar ni definir las características del humanismo, pobre o rico, que existió indiscutiblemente en España.

La investigación actual necesita tres tipos de trabajos urgentes: en primer lugar, catálogos de textos humanísticos, catálogos generosos con reproducción de fragmentos, resúmenes y valoraciones de los textos, una bibliografía comentada de ese batiburrillo de gramáticas latinas que ven la luz desde la aparición de la imprenta en España, inventarios de ediciones, comentarios, impresos o manuscritos, de autores clásicos, etc. En segundo lugar, necesitamos ediciones de textos, ediciones críticas, a ser posible anotadas, por lo menos de los humanistas hispanos más importantes.

En tercer lugar, tendría que realizarse una labor de definición y descripción de nuestro humanismo. Tendrían que evitarse las ideas generales, las apologías “pro hispanorum eruditione” y otras especies, e iniciar una serie de análisis empíricos a partir de lo que dicen los textos. La investigación podría dirigirse en dos sentidos: por una parte, estudios sobre un solo autor, autores aceptados por todo el mundo como humanistas, gentes como Nebrija, el Pinciano, Arias Montano, etc. Por otra parte, exposiciones diacrónicas de la aparición de palabras clave, conceptos e ideas que puedan servirnos para dibujar

¹ Véase mi “Aproximación a la poesía latina del canónigo Francisco Pacheco” que aparecerá próximamente en el *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*.

las líneas maestras del humanismo hispano. Para esta investigación tendremos que trabajar en parte sobre textos inéditos, impresos raros que duermen en nuestras bibliotecas, etc.

Sólo después de haber desbrozado el campo con estos trabajos se podrán realizar monografías e intentos de síntesis enmarcando a los autores de una manera coherente.

El presente trabajo pretende dentro de estas líneas de investigación, rastrear el tema de los elogios de las letras en España desde finales del siglo XV hasta 1540, haciendo hincapié especialmente en la influencia de las ideas de Poliziano en algunos de estos textos. La importancia de Poliziano para el humanismo español es un hecho conocido y ya fue subrayado por Eugenio Asensio en sus famosas reflexiones sobre el *Erasmus y España* de Bataillon². Sin embargo, creo que vale la pena analizarla con más detenimiento en el marco de estos elogios, sintomáticos del sentir humanístico hispano.

Los elogios de los estudios aparecen en España fundamentalmente en forma de discursos inaugurales de curso³ y, en menor medida, en cartas introductorias o exhortatorias a las letras. De zona catalana tenemos noticia de un texto temprano, un discurso *De laudibus scientiarum* obra de un prolífico humanista catalán, Juan Ramón Ferrer⁴.

² E. Asensio, "El erasmismo y las corrientes espirituales afines", *Revista de Filología Española*, 26 (1952), 86.

³ La costumbre de componer discursos inaugurales, *orationes* o más corrientemente llamadas *repetitiones* debía estar difundida en las Universidades españolas por lo menos desde el siglo XV; en Salamanca concretamente se documentan desde las *Constitutiones* más antiguas de 1422. Cf. C. Lynn, "The *Repetitio*: and a *Repetitio*", *Speculum*, 6 (1931), 124. En este estudio prescindo de textos didácticos y exposiciones en las que se intenta una descripción de las artes liberales como en los capítulos 34 y ss. del *Speculum vitae humanae* de Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, o los primeros capítulos de la *Visión deleitable* de Francisco de la Torre. He de agradecer a Francisco Rico el animarme a emprender este trabajo y ayudarme en su elaboración de múltiples formas como es habitual en él. También debo agradecer a la amabilidad de mis amigos Gilbert y Godelieve Tournoy información y materiales que me han sido preciosos.

⁴ La noticia procede del *De viris illustribus catalanibus* de Pere Miquel Carbonell, in *Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalán Pedro Miguel Carbonell, ilustrados y precedidos de su biografía documentada*, ed. M. de Bofarull, Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón XXVII-XXVIII, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1864-1865), I, 241. No podemos conjeturar nada sobre la fecha de composición del discurso, aunque creo que es anterior a 1477, fecha en la que acaba el *De Pronominibus*, siendo de edad avanzada. Ferrer es un humanista interesante, quizá relacionado con la edición del Perottus de Barcelona de 1475; cf. J. M. Casas Homs, *Ambient gramatical a Barcelona durant el segle XV. Discurs llegit el dia 17 d'octubre de 1971 a la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres* (Barcelona, 1971), 32-38, y del mismo, "El tratado de los pronombres

En zona castellana el texto más antiguo del que sé es el *De scientiarum laudibus* del jurista salmantino Juan Alfonso de Benavente⁵. Desgraciadamente ambos textos parecen perdidos.

De hacia 1482 es la *Epístola exhortatoria a las letras* de Juan de Lucena. En ese texto el pensamiento del protonotario apostólico no ha variado demasiado del que expuso veinte años antes en su *De vita beata*, de la que a veces reproduce casi literalmente frases e ideas⁶. La tesis de fondo de esta epístola es una de las constantes del humanismo español del XV, la defensa de la síntesis de las armas y las letras⁷, aunque quizá en este caso sería mejor hablar de la burocracia y las letras. Sigue en la línea de los intentos de dignificación de las letras por parte de esa clase social de hombres doctos, en muchos casos conversos, despreciados en general en los medios políticos hispanos. Según la epístola, el hombre sabio es el filósofo y para llegar a ese estadio necesita primero pasar por la gramática, por las letras⁸. Ese interés por encarecer el estudio de la gramática, del latín, especialmente dirigiéndose a un laico, creo que puede considerarse como un rasgo humanístico. Sin embargo, la postura de Lucena en su conjunto resulta algo ambigua.

Para encontrar un cambio fundamental y una actitud distinta de la de Juan de Lucena, hemos de llegar a Nebrija. Con Nebrija entran y se difunden en España, por lo menos entre los restringidos grupos

de Juan Ramón Ferrer, humanista barcelonés del siglo XV", *Scrinium*, Fascículos 8-10 (1953), 9-13.

⁵ Este discurso se leyó en la Universidad de Salamanca el día de San Lucas, según la noticia que da Lucio Marineo Sículo en el *De Hispaniae Laudibus* (Salamanca, 1497), f. 83^r. Esta obra parece perdida y ni siquiera se menciona en el completo estudio de B. Alonso Rodríguez, *Juan Alfonso de Benavente, canonista salmantino del siglo XV* (Roma-Madrid, 1964).

⁶ Sobre la fecha de composición de la epístola y sus relaciones con el *De vita beata*, véase la tesis de licenciatura inédita de Jerónimo Miguel Briongo, *Juan de Lucena: breve estudio de conjunto en torno a su vida y producción literaria*, leída en la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona en 1975.

⁷ Idea espléndidamente estudiada por P. E. Russell, "Arms versus Letters: towards a Definition of Spanish Fifteenth-century Humanism", in *Aspects of the Renaissance: a Symposium*, ed. A. R. Lewis (Austin-London, 1967), 47-58.

⁸ "... por ser vos gramático, non penséis vos por eso ser sabidor. Llámalos el vulgo letrados, non porque sepan las letras, mas porque han de saber lo que se escribe en ellas. Solíanlos llamar sapientes hasta los tiempos de Sócrates, que preguntado de un Principe de qué profesión era, como quier que era avido en Grecia por inventor del saber, paresciéndole ser arrogancia llamarse sapiente, se dijo filósofo", ed. A. Paz y Melia, *Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI*, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 9 (Madrid, 1892), 212.

universitarios, las ideas básicas del humanismo italiano. En este pionero encontramos las primeras influencias de Poliziano.

En primer lugar hay que realzar su famosa defensa de la función del gramático⁹: “Grammaticus nomen est professionis, neque enim dignati sumus nos ea professione censerī, quae nobis tantum honoris peperit, quantum etiam me tacente obrectatores mei confitentur¹⁰”; y en otro texto¹¹:

“... malui non solum demittere me ad artes infimas et pueriles disciplinas, verum etiam intra sola grammatices et poetriae studia consistere...”.

Pienso que la explicación del término *grammaticus* y su defensa, se ha de buscar en ese famoso pasaje de la *Lamia* de Poliziano¹². La idea creo que circulaba entre los profesores salmantinos, pues la volvemos a encontrar en Arias Barbosa cuando en un epigrama, al tratar del nombre del *grammaticus*, dice¹³ “Haec solum criticis nomina tanta dedit”, que recoge la idea expuesta por Poliziano¹⁴:

“... at apud antiquos olim tantum auctoritatis hic ordo habuit, ut

⁹ Precisamente Juan Luis Vives para caracterizar a Nebrija pone de relieve esta misma defensa de su profesión de *grammaticus*: “Antonius Nebrissensis, qui pro varia et late patenti eruditione, quum esset diligenter in omni scriptorum genere versatus, potuisset quodcunque nomen usurpare ... nihil tamen dici et haberi voluit quam grammaticus”. *De disciplinis* (Nápoles, 1764), p. 75; y creo que no es casualidad que Vives en ese mismo pasaje presente a Poliziano junto con Nebrija como ejemplos de gramáticos importantes.

¹⁰ *Introductiones* (Valentia, N. Spindeler, 1505), f. 2^r. En las citas de textos latinos de ediciones renacentistas únicamente me permito unificar el uso de las mayúsculas en nombres propios y adjetivos derivados de nombres propios; unifiqué el uso de -ae en todos los finales flexivos, incluso en pronombres como *haec*; también he cambiado en algún caso la puntuación. Por lo demás respeto la ortografía original.

¹¹ *De vi ac potestate litterarum*, en *Introductiones* (Lugduni, I. Crespini, 1526), f. 134^r.

¹² Cf. A. Scaglione, “The Humanist as Scholar and Politician’s Conception of the Grammaticus”, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 8 (1961), 61. Sin embargo, a pesar de la defensa de Poliziano el término continuó teniendo sus detractores, cf. G. Pozzi, *Hermolai Barbari Castigationes Plinianae et in Pomponium Melam*, Thesaurus Mundi, 11-, 2 vols. (Padova, 1973-), I, CLVII-CLVIII. Es obvio que Nebrija conocía la obra de Poliziano. Pero hay algo más que un simple conocimiento de las obras divulgadas cuando dice en el *Lexicon iuris civilis*: “Notavit primus hunc errorem Angelus Politianus in quadam observatione eius centuriae, quam unicam nobis videre contigit”. *Léxico de Derecho Civil. Textos latinos y castellanos*, ed. Carlos Humberto Núñez, Colección de Juristas Clásicos Españoles, 1 (Madrid, 1944), 362. Nebrija tiene un interés especial por Poliziano y por eso se lamenta de no haber podido leer la *Secunda Centuria*. Podía conocer su existencia a través de varias fuentes; cf. ahora el prólogo de V. Branca y M. Pastore Stocchi, *Miscellaneorum centuria secunda* (Florencia, 1972), I, 59 ss.

¹³ Citado por Félix G. Olmedo, *Nebrija (1441-1522)*, (Madrid, 1942), p. 78.

¹⁴ Cf. A. Scaglione, a.c., p. 62.

censores essent et iudices scriptorum omnium soli grammatici, quos ob id etiam criticos vocabant”.

La gramática en el sentido amplio en que la debía entender Nebrija, ciencia filológica como la concibe Poliziano, está en la base de todo y tiene siempre algo que decir sobre todas las otras disciplinas ¹⁵.

Nebrija defiende un método humanístico basado en el estudio de los testimonios de los *optimi auctores*, los códices antiguos y en un conocimiento exacto de los restos de la antigüedad, inscripciones y monedas ¹⁶.

No es difícil fijar los autores que Nebrija considera *optimi*. En cierta nota al prólogo de la *Introductiones* ¹⁷, el autor nos da un panorama de los autores de la antigüedad divididos en tres etapas: los de la infancia de la lengua, los *optimi* y un tercer grupo que llama *tollerabiles*,

¹⁵ “An vero est qui parvam audeat artem illam appellare qua sermo latinus continetur, in quo religionis nostrae in primis sacramenta quasi depositum quoddam fidelissime servantur? Quae cum reliquis omnibus disciplinis ita est coagmentata, ut haec ab illis facile secerni, illae vero ab hac quemadmodum disiungantur, nec intelligi ullo modo possint. Nam oro atque per deum immortalem obtestor, quotam sibi vitae nostrae partem reliquae omnes sibi disciplinae vendicant? Quoties in sermonem incidimus, ut de numeris magnitudinibusque? Quoties ut de vocum astrorumque ratione? Quoties ut de moribus rerumque natura? Quoties ut de medicina, deque civilis et pontificii iuris scientia? Quoties ut de religione atque de re divina disputemus? At vero grammatica omni in loco, omnique tempore, ita praesto est, ut si quid legas, si quid scribas, si cum alio loquaris, si denique tecum ipse quid cogites, sine illa efficere nullo modo possis”. *Introductiones* (Valentiae, 1505), f. 5^o. Es interesante observar cómo Nebrija subraya en primer lugar la dependencia de las Sagradas Escrituras y de las ciencias escripturarias de la gramática. El interés en poner de relieve esa dependencia será una de las constantes de los elogios de la gramática en España. En la *Repetitio de vi ac potestate litterarum* repite la misma idea: “... voces illae quas deus per Moysen in primis aliosque prophetas et agyographos authores, deinde per apostolos et evangelistas protulit, ne temporis diuturnitate oblitterentur, grammaticae hoc est rei litterariae sunt creditae atque commendatae. Neque ex tanta disciplinarum multitudine quas partim casus partim solertia humana excogitavit, ulla magis neque dignior est inventa cui depositum tam grande congregaretur”. *Introductiones* (Lugduni, 1526), f. 130^o.

¹⁶ Por ejemplo en *De vi ac potestate litterarum* nos dice: “Erat enim facile vulgus incertum erroris convincere, cum haberem tot viros grecos et latinos quorum auctoritatem illorum depravatæ opinioni opponerem. Haberem ex nostris complures studiorum meorum studiosos qui illud idem quod ego de re litteraria sentirent. Haberem codices pervetustos et litterarum monumenta lapidibus ac numismatis impressa quae meis observationibus astipularentur ...” *Introductiones* (Lugduni, 1526), f. 130^o; y en la *Repetitio de accentu latino*, después de asegurarnos que ninguna de las ciencias puede ofrecer resultados firmes y seguros, presenta como solución: “Quare illud unicum tantæ ambiguitati remedium est nobis reliquum, ut optimi cuiusque auctoritate innitatur. Qui sint autem optimi, aut qui aliis praestantes, aliubi est a nobis disputatum”. *Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Relectio nona de accentu latino* (Barcinonae, per J. Rosembach, 1514), f. a2^r.

¹⁷ *Introductiones* (Valentiae, 1505), f. 6^r.

desde la época de Adriano hasta S. Isidoro. Los autores posteriores ya no le interesan, “qui sequuntur, quod ad latini sermonis rationem attinet, nec digni quidem sunt quorum meminisse debeamus”. Los *optimi auctores*, los que merecen ser imitados, se dividen en cuatro grupos :

a. “Ex poetis : Catulus, P. Varro, Lucretius, Virgilius, Horatius, Manilius, Tibulus, Propertius, Ovidius, Germanicus, Avienus, Macer, Persius, Seneca, Lucanus, Merobaudes¹⁸, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Martialis, Juvenalis, Papinius”.

b. “ex oratoribus variarumque rerum scriptoribus : Cicero, Cesar, Brutus, Servius, Sulpitius, Pollio, M. Varro, Nigidius, Cato Uticensis, Caelius, Vitruvius¹⁹, Columela, Celsus, Iginus, Pedianus, Festus, Marcellus, Mela, Apitius, uterque Seneca, uterque Plinius, Quintilianus”.

c. “ex historicis : Salustius, Nepos, Livius, Valerius Maximus, Fennestella, Solinus, Justinus, Tranquillus²⁰, Tacitus, Curtius, Florus, Aemilius”.

d. “ex iureconsultis : Alphenus, Offilius, Aufidius²¹, Namusa, Flavius, Proculus, Antistius, Cecilius, Trebatius, Cassellius, Tubero, Capito, Cassius, Sabini duo, Labeones tres, Nerva pater et filius, Pegasus, Jabolenus, Celsus, Neratius, Aburnius²², Julianus²³”.

Es interesante confrontar la división de Nebrija con las disciplinas que normalmente comprenden los *studia humanitatis*²⁴. Comunes son Poesía, Historia y Oratoria, de la que forman parte escritores de temas gramaticales y retores, pero Nebrija añade una nutrida representación de escritores de temas científicos, agricultura, geografía, historia natural o arquitectura; la filosofía moral no se menciona, aunque quizá esté incluida entre los oradores y escritores de asuntos varios. Sin embargo,

¹⁸ Merobaudes : *correxí ex* Marbodaheus.

¹⁹ La grafía “Vitruvius” basada en ciertas inscripciones debía estar extendida en el Renacimiento, cf. J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina*, 2 vols (Venecia, 1728), II, 338.

²⁰ Tranquillus : *correxí ex* Transcullus.

²¹ Creo que se refiere a Aufidius Tucca y el siguiente nombre Namusa, se refiere a Aufidius Namusa.

²² Aburnius : *correxí ex* Alburnus.

²³ La fuente para esta enumeración de juristas es el famoso pasaje de Sexto Pomponio en el *Digestum*, concretamente 1, 2, 2, 44-48.

²⁴ Cf. P. O. Kristeller, “Humanismus und Scholastik in der italienischen Renaissance”, in *Humanismus und Renaissance*, Humanistische Bibliothek, I, 21-22, 2 vols (München, 1974-1976), I, 102-103 y 237, n. 60.

donde sí se aparta claramente de la división tradicional de los *studia humanitatis* es al añadir una subdivisión sobre los juristas ²⁵.

En la tercera época de la lengua, la de los escritores posteriores a Adriano, Nebrija vuelve a repetir en parte los apartados anteriores, pero añade uno más: escritores “ex his qui pro religione nostra scripserunt”, autores cristianos que van desde Tertuliano a S. Isidoro. Son autores *tollerabiles* solamente, pero no pueden quedar fuera del campo de estudio del *grammaticus*.

Creo que resumiendo podemos decir que para el humanista andaluz el campo de estudio del *grammaticus* comprende: poesía, oratoria (de la que formarían parte gramática, retórica, escritos científicos y quizá filosofía moral), historia, jurisprudencia y literatura cristiana, evidentemente un campo bastante más amplio del que abarcan los *studia humanitatis*, pero muy cercano al que considera Poliziano como proprio del *grammaticus*:

“Grammaticorum enim sunt hae partes, ut omne scriptorum genus, poetas, historicos, oratores, philosophos, medicos, iureconsultos excutiant atque enarrent ²⁶”.

Naturalmente Nebrija, lo mismo que Poliziano ²⁷, no pretende ser

²⁵ La importancia que da Nebrija al estudio del derecho (como lo demuestran las tres obras que dedica al tema: el *Lexicon Iuris Civilis* [Salamanca, 1506], y los trabajos suyos que aparecen bajo el título *Aenigmata Iuris Civilis* en esa edición, así como las *Annotationes in Pandectas* inéditas, cf. A. Odriozola, “La caracola de bibliófilo nebrissenso o la casa a cuestras indispensable al amigo de Nebrija para navegar por el proceloso mar de sus obras”, *Revista de Bibliografía Nacional*, 7, 1946, 48-52 y 109) debe de estar en relación con su formación en el Estudio de Bolonia, donde algunos años después se licenciaria un Andrea Alciato. Sobre la contribución del humanismo a los estudios de jurisprudencia véanse las sugestivas observaciones de P. O. Kristeller, “The Impact of Early Italian Humanism on Thought and Learning”, in *Developments in the Early Renaissance. Papers of the second annual conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, 4-5 May 1968*, ed. B. S. Levy (Albany, 1972), 137-138; sobre Nebrija jurista cf. D. Maffei, *Gli inizi dell'umanesimo giuridico* (Milano, 1956), 49-51, donde se remite a otra bibliografía. Hay que recordar que en este punto Nebrija también concuerda con el interés que mostró Poliziano por la jurisprudencia. Sobre este aspecto de los intereses polizianescos véase, C. Dionisotti, “Filologia umanistica e testi giuridici fra Quattro e Cinquecento”, *Atti del II congresso internazionale della società italiana di storia del diritto. Venezia 18-22 settembre 1967* (Firenze, 1971), pp. 189-204.

²⁶ A. Scaglione, a.c., p. 62.

²⁷ “Ego me Aristotelis profiteor interpretem ... philosophum non profiteor ... Nec apud nos Donatus, puta, et Servius, apud Graecos Aristarchus et Zenodotus, continuo se poetas profitentur, quoniam quidem poetas interpretentur. An non Philoponus ille, Ammonii discipulus Simpliciique condiscipulus, idoneus Aristotelis est interpres? At eum nemo philosophum vocat, omnes grammaticum”. Dice Poliziano en la *Lamia*, según cita de A. Scaglione, a.c., p. 61.

un profesional de todas estas ciencias. Lo dice claramente en el prólogo de su *Iuris Civilis Lexicon*²⁸ :

“Nunc vero cum sit mihi animo, non tamen ab artificio meo discedens, per alienas professione mea disciplinas peregrinari, te volui potissimum eligere iudicem ... Sed inveni viam qua me ab illorum invidia exonerarem atque illos placatos ditterem, si dixerio me de vocabulis ad ius civile pertinentibus non tamquam iuris studiosus, sed tamquam grammaticus disputare”.

En los primeros cuatro decenios del siglo XVI encontramos una abundante producción de alabanzas de los estudios y, concretamente, de los estudios humanísticos. De fecha incierta pero que debe oscilar entre 1515 y 1520 tenemos una *Oratio de laudibus Philosophiae* de Alfonso de Castro publicada en Valencia²⁹. En Alcalá encontramos, editada en 1521, una curiosa *Oratio ad Complutensem universitatem habita in principio anni scolastici*³⁰ en defensa de la gramática, obra de Juan de Brocar. De 1525 es la segunda edición del *De origine et laudibus Poeseos Sylva* de Juan Angel González, publicada probablemente en Valencia³¹; en 1529 aparece en Burgos el texto de Juan Maldonado *Paraenesis ad politiores litteras*³²; en 1531 se publica en Alcalá la *Oratio habita in Academia Complutensi die sancti Lucae anno ab humanitate verbi 1530* del erasmista Lope Alonso de Herrera³³;

²⁸ *Léxico de Derecho Civil*, pp. 18-20.

²⁹ Tomo la noticia de F. J. Norton, *Printing in Spain 1501-1520* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 84, donde se encontrarán más detalles sobre esta obra. No hay ningún ejemplar localizado.

³⁰ Cf. Juan Catalina García, *Ensayo de una Tipografía Complutense* (Madrid, 1889), p. 24, n° 43. Se conserva ejemplar en la Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla, n° 12.886. Sobre Juan de Brocar véase después nota 49.

³¹ *De origine et laudibus Poeseos Sylva per Joannem Angelum edita et clarissimo Heroi Duci Gandiae illustrissimo D. Joanni a Borgia dicata* (s.l., n.i., 1525); se trata de una segunda edición porque en el f. A1^v aparecen unos disticos “Ad eundem Gandiae Ducem illustrissimum, ob errorem nominis in priori editione positi”. Hay un ejemplar en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sign. R-19833. Sobre Juan Angel González véase nota 63.

³² *Ioannis Maldonati Paraenesis ad politiores litteras adversus grammaticorum vulgum* (Burgis, s.i., 1529). Se conserva un ejemplar en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Zaragoza, sign. H-II-206. Sobre Juan Maldonado véase M. Bataillon, *Erasmus et l'Espagne* (Paris, 1937), *passim*. Poca cosa añade Heliodoro García García en su tesis de licenciatura inédita: *El pensamiento ético-histórico del humanista Juan Maldonado a través de su obra “de felicitate christiana”*, Universidad Complutense, 1975.

³³ Cf. J. Catalina García, *Ensayo*, 49-50, n° 137. Hay un ejemplar en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sign. R-28139. Sobre este erasmista véase A. Bonilla y San Martín,

en el mismo año de las prensas valencianas sale un texto de Cosme Damián Savall, *In laudem Valentiae urbis. In laudem eloquentiae et scientiarum et de optimo statu reipublicae literariae constituendo*³⁴. De 1534 es la más antigua de las *orationes* que tenemos de Francisco Decio³⁵, *De re literaria asserenda*, publicada en Valencia³⁶, y, al año siguiente, el mismo Decio vuelve a redactar el discurso inaugural del curso universitario con el título *Colloquium cui titulus Paedapechthia* acompañado en el mismo volumen por la *Declamatio pro equite contra literas. Pro literis contra equitem*³⁷. Anterior a 1537, aunque no sabemos de qué fecha, tenemos una *oratio de latinitate et grammatica* de Pedro Núñez Delgado, leída por un discípulo suyo en el colegio de San Miguel de Sevilla³⁸. De 1537 es la *Oratio Compluti in studiorum*

“Un antiaristotélico del Renacimiento : Hernando Alonso de Herrera”, *Revue Hispanique*, 50 (1920), 69-70, y M. Bataillon, *Erasmus*, p. 372.

³⁴ Véase Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, 2 vols (1783-1788), I, 256, s.u. Cosmas Damianus Cavallus (sic), y A. Palau, *Manual del librero hispano-americano*, en curso de publicación, 26 vols hasta 1975 (Barcelona, 1948-), XX, p. 178, n.º 303184. Savall fue catedrático de griego en Valencia desde 1524, y en 1531 era catedrático de oratoria, según datos de J. Pastor Fuster, *Biblioteca Valenciana de los escritores que florecieron hasta nuestros días*, 2 vols (Valencia, 1827-1830), I, 69. No he logrado localizar ningún ejemplar de esta su única obra conocida.

³⁵ Sobre el humanista valenciano Francisco Decio, cf. J. Pastor Fuster, *Biblioteca Valenciana*, I, 86; sobre el ambiente cultural en el que se movía Decio, cf. J. Fuster, *Rebeldes y Heterodoxos* (Barcelona, 1972), pp. 97-200. Al parecer Decio era profesor del Estudio de Valencia y en 1548 ocupó el puesto de Juan Angel González al morir éste, cf. F. Martí Grajales, *Ensayo de un diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de los poetas que florecieron en el Reino de Valencia hasta el año 1700* (Madrid, 1907), p. 275. Había estudiado con el maestro Ordoño, según cuenta en el *De scientiarum et academiae valentinae laudibus* (Valentiae, per Ioannem Mey, 1547), f. a2^r, en la dedicatoria de esa obra a Berenguer Aguilar. Creo que se trata de Alfonso Ordoño, profesor de retórica en el Estudio de Valencia, al que J.B. Anyés dedica un poema fechado en 1521 en su *Apologia in defensionem virorum illustrium* (Valentiae, per Ioannem Baldovinum, 1543), f. 8^{r-v}. En el *De re literaria asserenda*, f. a7^v, Decio nos dice que ha viajado por Europa, probablemente para realizar estudios.

³⁶ *Francisci Decii Valentini de re literaria asserenda Oratio ad Patres Iuratos Senatūque literarium Lucalibus ipsis habita. Anno MDXXXIII*. (Valentiae, per Ioannem Navarro, 1535). Utilizo el ejemplar de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sign. R-19833⁵. Con el neologismo *Lucalibus* creo que designa las fiestas de S. Lucas (18 de octubre), cuando se iniciaba el curso escolar, cf. J. García Mercadal, *Estudiantes, sopistas y pícaros* (Madrid, 1934), p. 66. Juan Maldonado utiliza la forma *Lucanalibus* en su *Oratiuncula per adolescentulum habita Lucanalibus. Anno 1545.*, inserta en sus *Opuscula quaedam docta simul et elegantia* (Burgis, Giunta, 1549).

³⁷ *Francisci Decii Colloquium cui titulus Paedapechthia* (s.l., n. i., 1536). Hay ejemplar en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sign. R-27032.

³⁸ Cf. Pedro Núñez Delgado, *Epigrammata* (s.l., n.i., 1537), f. c3^v; sobre Pedro Núñez Delgado véase M. Bataillon, *Erasmus*, p. 91, con un sugestivo cuadro del ambiente sevillano

initio habita de Juan Pérez conservada en varios manuscritos escorialenses ³⁹.

De todos estos textos, los que he logrado localizar nos muestran algunas de las tendencias y tópicos del humanismo hispano. Creo que sintetizando podemos distinguir tres rasgos dominantes :

a) En primer lugar encontramos en varias de estas obras la misma actitud que encontramos en Nebrija, la admiración por el modelo que presenta la filología italiana de finales del siglo XV y especialmente por la obra de Poliziano; volveremos después sobre este punto.

b) En otros textos, concretamente en los de Maldonado ⁴⁰, Lope Alonso de Herrera ⁴¹ y Decio ⁴², encontramos cierta conciencia de

en el que se mueve este humanista. Véase también M. Méndez Bejarano, *Diccionario de escritores, maestros y oradores naturales de Sevilla y su actual provincia*, 3 vols (Sevilla, 1922-1925), II, 154, n° 1827, y B. J. Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos, formado con los apuntamientos de don Bartolomé José Gallardo, coordinados y aumentados por D. M. R. Zarco del Valle y D. J. Sancho Rayon*, 4 vols (Madrid, 1863-1889), III, col. 978.

³⁹ *Joannis Petreii Toletani Rhetoris Complutensis oratio Compluti in studiorum initio habita. Anno MDXXXVII*, conservada en la Real Biblioteca del Escorial, ms. e-II-15, ff. 74^r-83^r, de letra de Ambrosio de Morales, y ms. H-I-10, f. 245, copia del siglo XVIII, cf. G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, 5 vols (Madrid, 1919-1923), II, 57 y 416.

⁴⁰ *Paraenesis*, f. b8^v-c1^r : "Sed iam ab Italia discedamus, quae utrumque literarum latinarum, quas ipsa progenuit ac produxit, patrocinium non deseruit, nunquam omnino deposuit; ad transalpinas regiones nostra transcurrat oratio, in quibus cum adeo felicissima propeque divina, invitis Italis, ingenia nostra tulerit aetas, et magis in dies magisque producat, ut veterum graecorum ac romanorum videatur gloriam abolitura, aut si minus, noctis aliquid inductura".

⁴¹ En Lope Alonso de Herrera es muy clara esta nueva manera de sentir, naturalmente a la zaga de Erasmo. Es una actitud semejante a la de Tunstall en Francia, cf. F. Simone, *Il Rinascimento francese, studi e ricerche*, Biblioteca di studi francesi, 1 (Torino, 1965²), p. 69. Así encontramos en Herrera el desprecio del saber retórico de los italianos : "Nec ego tamen nunc Italos, apud quos permultos annos sum diversatus, tanti facio, ut in eorum gratiam velim nostris insultatum. Nam et suae illis discordiae totam intercepere studiorum spem, et si quid fuerat reliqui, per imprudentiam in portu naufragio facto confecere". (A2^o); o ataques contra los ciceronianos insulsos que no han entendido a Cicerón : "nihil enim Ciceronis habent ultra vanissimum nomen in quod se ipsi satis impudenter adoptarunt". (A3^o). Para Herrera el saber ha traspasado los Alpes y está en el norte : "At gentes quae ad Septentrionem iacent, dum industrias apiculas aemulatae, flosculis omnibus suum nectar excerpunt, eos digessere dicendi favos, eas illecebras facundiae protulere, ut possint et Athenis et Romae magistratus petere, magistratus gerere, citra ullum metum ne damnentur iudicio peregrinitatis. Nec hoc decus modo absolvere numeris omnibus, sed pepererunt etiam sibi tantum solidae ac verae gloriae, doctrinarum omnium opibus e vetustatis obsoletissimis monumentis eruderatis, ut retulerint aetati nostrae saecula illa quae in summa olim sapientiae luce claruerunt". (A3^o).

⁴² *De re literaria asserenda*, f. a7^o : "Postremo de studentium segnitie, quae sola

que el saber ya no está monopolizado por Italia. Desde Italia la ciencia ha traspasado los Alpes, siguiendo el viejo esquema de la *translatio studii*. En esta conciencia juega naturalmente un papel primordial el nombre de Erasmo. Esta postura está esplendidamente representada por el erasmista Lope Alonso de Herrera. Su elogio de las letras se convierte en un ataque contra el saber no cristiano. En primer lugar critica la gramática que practican humanistas como Valla y Mancinellus, después a los oradores y retores, y por último, lo que es peor, los grandes filósofos, especialmente Platón. La sabiduría no se encuentra en la vida pública ni en la privada, la sabiduría se encuentra solamente en la *docta ignorantia*, en el Evangelio y en Dios.

c) Por último encontramos con cierta frecuencia quejas por el bajo nivel de la enseñanza en España y por el poco arraigo y menosprecio que sufren los estudios humanísticos. Estas quejas aparecen explícitamente, por ejemplo en Juan Maldonado⁴³ y en Lope Alonso de Herrera⁴⁴, e implícitamente en Francisco Decio, en su *Declamatio pro literis contra equitem* en la que todavía parece tener vida esa tensión entre las armas y las letras tan importante para entender el humanismo

facit ne caeteris nationibus (quorum praeclara singulis diebus monimenta admiramur) superiores simus. Enimvero illud vos praemonitos esse velim, posse me, non aliunde accepta, sed quae oculis hisce meis sum contemplatus, peragrata propemodum Europa, multa de hac re haud dubia quidem proferre. Quae sane res me in hunc locum compulit, cum omnia (quae ad hanc rem necessaria sunt) potiora multo natura accipiamus. Quin ergo tam utili rei dieculam impendamus, quae, si feliciter consumatur, id lucri allatura sit, ut nos a Bathavorum Germanorumque tyrannide vindicet — quam tot annos volentes videntesque summo cum dedecore patimur — atque illorum manes delectemus”.

⁴³ La *Paraenesis* entre otras cosas ofrece el mejor balance que conozco del nivel de la enseñanza humanística en España. Podrían aducirse varios pasajes, pero el que cito es especialmente significativo, f. a3^r: “Hinc licet animadvertere, quod ubivis gentium et in quacumque barbarie virum aliquem offendas, dicendi scribendique virtute praeditum, et sola iam cessat Hispania suis ipsius institutis erudire quem reliquae possint nationes admirari, ni solum prius ipsum vertatur, et in alium veluti orbem commodum demigretur”. En otra ocasión volveré sobre esta obra pues estoy trabajando en su edición.

⁴⁴ *Oratio*, f. A2^r: “Solent a me non ita pauci petere, permagnifice Benedicte, quid sit in causa quod bonis iam literis per totum orbem repubescentibus, sola nostra Hispania quasi ager infoecundus et infoelici sterilitate damnatus nihil ferat. Nam cum vel Germani, et cum Britannis Scythae, propectu doctrinarum foelicissimo suas et Latio et Graecis opes quotidie regerant, nos, quasi maligno in solo et iniquo sub coelo siti mitiores humanitatis fruges aut nondum agnovimus, aut nondum accepimus, aut nondum tulimus”. Obsérvese el gracioso estilo de Herrera, siguiendo el “mos synonymorum” de amplia representación en las letras hispanas, cf. M. R. Lida, “Fray Antonio de Guevara. Edad Media y Siglo de Oro español”, *Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 7 (1945), 379-381.

del siglo XV castellano. La sociedad valenciana debía guardar muchos rasgos medievalizantes, a juzgar por el siguiente pasaje de la *Paedapechthia*⁴⁵:

“Porro colloquii huius argumentum, nisi me fallit amor operis, civitati nostrae aptissimum esse videbatur, adeo multi sunt qui in ea haeresi obdormiunt ut senatorium ordinem obturpescere literis asseverent. Ferendi si sic insanirent et non amplius delirarent, dum sphaeristeria, potationes, venerem, aleam, denique viciorum sentinam omnem probant, prae qua Musae cum suis hortulis et nemoribus turpiter illis olent”.

El texto de Juan Pérez se alinea en esa tendencia en la medida en que también tiene que enfrentarse a una sociedad hostil a los estudios. Pérez tiene que habérselas con el prejuicio de la ortodoxia religiosa española contra el hombre de letras. El siguiente pasaje es muy claro en ese sentido⁴⁶:

“Vellem, rector amplissime, ea esset temporum nostrorum conditio, eae hominum mentes atque sententiae, ut me hodierna actione literarum studia laudatorem magis atque preconem quam patronum et defensorem essent habiturae. Verum ea est aetatis huiusce infelicitas, ea ingeniorum perversitas, ut et laudare parum sit tutum et defendere necessarium. Non quod apud graves et sapientes viros alia sit de literis aestimatio quam quae et hactenus fuit et esse semper debet, sed quod ita perniciosorum ingeniorum abusu in rerum humanarum perturbationem et christianae reipublicae infestationem detorta sunt, ut non levi apud infirmos animos infamia laborent, dum quae hominum sunt vitia, ea artium et literarum esse putant. Ut mihi nunc illud Diogenianum in mentem veniat, cui cum aliquando unguentum preciosissimum esset oblatum, eius odore delectatus, male sit, inquit, malis cynedidis mollibus nimirum et effoeminatis hominibus, per quos usu rei preciosissimae nobis interdictum est. Sentiebat hominum turpi vita rem quoque ipsam quodam modo infamem fieri. Ita mihi nunc lubet mala precari seditiosis hisce novarum sectarum repertoribus, publice concordiae

⁴⁵ F. a3^r. El tema ya había aparecido apuntado en el *De re literaria asserenda*, a7^v-a8^r. Sobre la pervivencia de la disputa de las armas y las letras en el Siglo de Oro cf. J.A. Maravall, *El humanismo de las armas en Don Quijote* (Madrid, 1948), y Américo Castro, *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (Barcelona-Madrid, 1972²), pp. 215 y ss. (“Las Armas y las Letras”), con la bibliografía correspondiente puesta al día por J. Rodríguez-Puértolas; véase también P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Concepts of Man and other Essays* (New York, 1972), p. 49.

⁴⁶ Ms. e-II-15, f. 74^{r-v}.

inimicis, pacis occii infestatoribus, eversoribus religionis et pietatis, per quos effectum est ut literis neque synceris, nec tranquillis, nec sine suspicione fruamur. Ita factum est ut plerique odio illorum incensi, damnaturi mores, animos, ingenia, disciplinas damnent quibus usos esse intelligunt, studioseque alios ab eisdem deterreant, dum aut literis illos infectos putant, aut literas ipsas illorum commercio et consuetudine labem contraxisse”.

Alcalá fue siempre un lugar en el que floreció la semilla del nuevo sentir religioso erasmista o evangelista. Compañeros de claustro de Juan Pérez como Dionisio Vázquez, profesor de Sagradas Escrituras, o el maestro Ramírez, con el que Pérez compartía amistad y gusto por la poesía latina⁴⁷, eran hombres sospechosos para la Inquisición⁴⁸. Por otra parte, en 1537 estamos en pleno auge de la persecución del erasmismo. No es de extrañar que Pérez haga estas manifestaciones contra los “agitadores” religiosos en un discurso inaugural.

Para continuar con nuestro estudio sobre la influencia de Poliziano interesa analizar dos textos: la *Oratio* de Brocar como continuador de las ideas de Nebrija y la *Sylva* de Juan Angel González.

El primer texto, obra de Juan de Brocar, hijo del impresor Arnao Guillén de Brocar⁴⁹, se leería en la inauguración de curso de Alcalá, quizá en octubre de 1520. El tema de la *Oratio* es el elogio de la gramática y sus relaciones con las otras ciencias⁵⁰. Es un tema manido

⁴⁷ Cf. Dámaso Alonso, *Dos españoles del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid, 1960), 69.

⁴⁸ M. Bataillon, *Erasmus*, 522-523.

⁴⁹ El impresor Arnao Guillén de Brocar, de origen franco-navarro, procuró sin duda que su hijo Juan de Brocar adquiriese una cuidada educación, una educación como la que desearía Juan Amerbach para sus hijos, cf. L. Febvre, “El barrio latino a finales del siglo XV: la educación parisina de los Amerbach”, in *Erasmus, la Contrarreforma y el espíritu moderno* (Barcelona, 1971), pp. 161-167. No debieron ser ajenos a estos proyectos educativos la influencia y la amistad que tuvo con Nebrija. Probablemente gracias a la recomendación del gramático andaluz llegaría a convertirse en el impresor del magno proyecto escriturario del Cardenal Cisneros. El jovencísimo Juan de Brocar, un niño todavía, fue el encargado, un 10 de julio de 1517, de presentar a Cisneros el último tomo de la Biblia Poliglota, cf. J. López de Toro, *Perfiles Humanos de Cisneros* (Madrid, 1958), p. 56. En fecha que no podemos precisar debió de ingresar en la Universidad de Alcalá, puesto que en la dedicatoria de la *Oratio* al obispo de Avila, Francisco Ruiz, habla como estudiante de la facultad: “Gymnasii nostri consuetudo est, clementissime pater, ...”, f. A1^r.

⁵⁰ “Dicendum est enim de utilitate simul et necessitate rei litterariae quam graeci grammaticen dicunt. Deque omnibus aliis scientiis quas natura ita rei litterariae coniunxit, ut ab ea non separentur. Deinde quomodo in omni disciplina omnes errent qui grammaticen contemnunt”. f. A2^r. Los antecedentes clásicos de estas ideas son abundantes. Sobre la interrelación de la gramática con el resto de las ciencias, cf. las

como pocos, pero es también la piedra de toque o catalizador del sentir humanístico, por lo que vale la pena ver su tratamiento por el joven gramático de Alcalá.

El primer título de gloria de la gramática es el ser receptáculo de las tres lenguas sagradas: hebrea, porque en ella se anunció nuestra salvación, griega, porque en ella se escribió toda la sabiduría humana, latina, porque ella dominó sobre todo el orbe⁵¹.

La gramática es la clave de todas las ciencias, “y si desapareciese desaparecerían todas las artes y ciencias que adornan más la vida humana; desaparecería incluso el esplendor de las sagradas letras, por las que se nos instruye y enseña en la religión cristiana⁵²”. Es imprescindible para comprender todos los textos escritos sobre ciencias naturales, sagradas escrituras, derecho o medicina, para entender en fin, “todos los libros en los que se ha escrito sobre las artes libres y dignas del hombre libre⁵³”.

notas de K. Müllner al *de studiis litterarum oratio* de Gregorio da Città di Castello, in *Reden und Briefe italienischer Humanisten*, Humanistische Bibliothek II, 1. Reimpresión de la edición de Wien 1899 (München, 1970), p. 174. Creo que el pasaje de Quintiliano, *Inst.* 1, 4, 4 es fundamental para la transmisión de la idea. En su andadura renacentista el tema ha de ponerse en relación con las discusiones humanísticas sobre la superioridad de ciertas disciplinas sobre otras, cf. P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Concepts of Man*, p. 49, y Ch. Trinkaus, “A Humanist's Image of Humanism: the Inaugural Orations of Bartolommeo della Fonte”, *Studies in the Renaissance*, 7 (1960), 112, n. 65.

⁵¹ “Quantum sit seculi hominibus necessaria haec ars, vel ex eo coniectari licet, quod in ea sunt creditae et velut depositae tres illae linguae quae in titulo crucis consecratae sunt, quibus religio nostra continetur, quibusque romana ecclesia mixtim utitur: hebraica, in qua primum nostra salus nunciata est, graeca, in quo sapientia humana est perscripta, latina, quae totius orbis dominationem tenuit”. (f. A2^{r-v}). Este pasaje está calcado casi literalmente de Nebrija, *De vi ac potestate litterarum*: “factum est ut christiana religio tribus illis potissimum linguis continetur quae in titulo crucis, hoc est triumphis salvatoris nostri, consecratae sunt, quibusque romana ecclesia mixtim utitur, ut ab hebraica, in qua primum nostra salus enunciata est, per grecam, in qua sapientia humana est perscripta, ac latinam, quae totius orbis dominationem tenuit, quasi per quosdam gradus se ascendisse testetur”. *Introductiones* (Lugduni, 1526), f. 130^v. La idea de que el título de gloria del latín fue el ser compañero del imperio tuvo una amplia difusión en España, cf. E. Asensio, “La lengua compañera del imperio”, *Revista de Filología Española*, 43 (1960), 399-413.

⁵² “Quae si interiret, interirent omnes artes et scientiae, quae vitam humanam cultiorem reddunt; interiret denique hic ipse sacrarum litterarum splendor, quibus ad christianam religionem instituimur et docemur”. (f. A2^v).

⁵³ “libros omnes quibus ingenuae artes atque homine ingenuo dignae scriptae sunt ...” (f. A3^r); Brocar vuelve a utilizar la misma forma “studia digna homine libero”, que se remonta a Séneca, *Ep.* 88, 2, al final de la obra: “Vos ergo Patres sapientissimi quorum labor et studium est circa res aut divinas aut libero homine dignas”. (f. A7^v); la expresión está muy difundida en el Renacimiento, por ejemplo en un Nicolas de Clamanges, “Hec sunt libero atque ingenuo homine digna studia, et propterea merito

La gramática es principio y señora a la que se someten como siervas las demás disciplinas. Y aunque algunos la consideren ligera y falta de sustancia es fundamental para todos, incluso para los que se dedican a ciencias más altas⁵⁴. También el nombre de *grammaticus* es un título de gloria. Lo ostentaron muchos hombres que hubieran podido gloriarse de alcanzar fama en otras ciencias, entre ellos su maestro Nebrija, que con justicia hubiera podido llamarse historiador o retor⁵⁵ :

“Apion ille praeterea grammaticus, quem Tiberius Caesar cimbalum mundi vocabat, nullum festiviorem sibi quam grammatici titulum excogitavit. Fuit etiam Martianus Capella vir doctissimus, qui cum de unaquaque liberalium artium libros scriberet, grammaticen non intactam reliquit. Legistis forsitan Ioannis Grammatici commentaria super Aristotelis opera, qui tametsi philosophus esset, et sibi cognomentum vindicare posset, Ioannes Grammaticus appellari maluit. Nostris vero temporibus, Nebrissensis noster cui neque ingenium defuit nec doctrina, sed neque rerum usus in cunctis artibus, cum rhetoris aut historiographi titulum sibi vindicare potuisset, grammatici nomen non dissimulavit”.

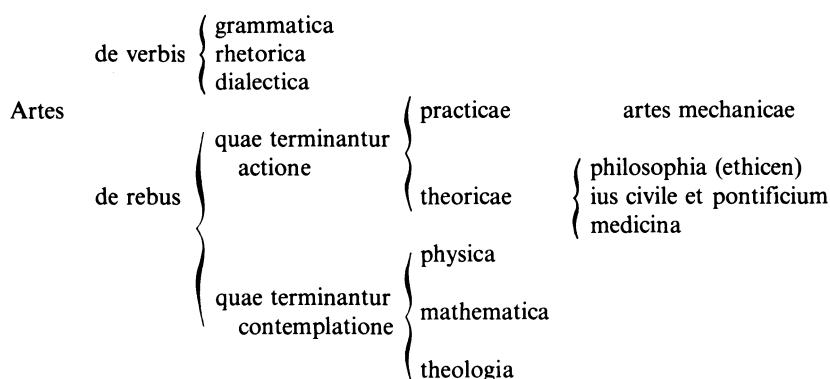
La segunda parte de la *Oratio* se inicia con una división de las artes⁵⁶ :

a maioribus ingenua ac liberalia appellata ...”, citado por D. Cecchetti, “L’elogio delle arti liberali nel primo Umanesimo francese”, *Studi Francesi*, 28 (1966), 6; sobre su significado entre los humanistas italianos cf. E. Garin, *Educazione umanistica in Italia*, Piccola biblioteca filosofica Laterza, 4 (Bari, 1970⁷), 82.

⁵⁴ F. A3^r. La idea viene expuesta a través de una cita de Quintiliano, *Inst.* 1, 4, 4. Es este un pasaje muy divulgado, Bartolommeo della Fonte lo debe tener presente también en su “Oratio in bonas artis”, al tratar de la gramática, cf. Ch. Trinkaus, “A Humanist’s Image of Humanism”, p. 112.

⁵⁵ F. A3^v. Sobre el desprecio al gramático en España véase L. Gil, “El humanismo español del siglo XVI”, *Estudios Clásicos*, 11 (1967), 241-246.

⁵⁶ “Nam omnis disciplina aut de verbis agit aut de rebus. De verbis sunt grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica, unde sermocinales appellantur. De rebus autem in duplici sunt differentia : aut enim terminantur actione aut contemplatione. Quae terminantur contemplatione sunt tres : physica, mathematica, theologia. Illae rursus quae terminantur actione dupliciter, quoniam aut sunt practicae, quae transeunt in materiam exteriorem, ut artes mechanicae, aut sunt theoricae, quae non versantur circa materiam exteriorem, ut philosophia quae de moribus est, quam graeci ethicen dicunt, atque totum ius civile et pontificium, ars etiam medica” (f. A4^r).



Esta clasificación, como tantas otras, es un “pastiche” de varios modelos⁵⁷. Quizá la parte más original sea la división de las artes “quae terminantur actione”. En esa división, la inclusión de la medicina y el derecho entre las artes teóricas recuerda una división de Poliziano en esa *Oratio De laudibus artium liberalium*⁵⁸ inédita hasta hace poco tiempo, que viene a ser un borrador de su *Panepistemon*. En ella la filosofía teórica se subdivide en medicina y gimnasia (aplicadas al cuerpo), y en justicia y legislación (aplicadas al alma). I. Maier, la editora del texto, encuentra extraña y contradictoria esta dicotomía polizianesca, así como la inclusión del derecho en la filosofía teórica⁵⁹. Creo sin embargo, que todo adquiere sentido si se tiene en cuenta que Poliziano está siguiendo un pasaje del *Gorgias* (464 a-c5), según el cual la rama de la política que se encarga del alma sana es la legislación, mientras que el alma enferma recibe los cuidados de la administración práctica de la justicia; por su parte el cuerpo sano es cuidado por la gimnasia y el cuerpo enfermo

⁵⁷ La división de las disciplinas entre las que tratan de palabras o de cosas ya aparece en S. Agustín, *De doctrina christiana* 1,2,2: "Omnis doctrina vel rerum est vel signorum". La dicotomía se utiliza en el s. XV para rechazar el estudio de las letras por aquel estudiante de filosofía sobrino de Sadoletto Paolo Sacrato, cf. E. Garin, *L'Umanesimo italiano. Filosofia e vita civile nel Rinascimento*, Universale Laterza, 3 (Bari, 1970*), 90. La división de las artes "quae terminantur actione" y "quae terminantur contemplatione" sigue el esquema aristotélico de filosofía activa y especulativa. A su vez la división tripartita de las artes "quae terminantur contemplatione" sigue la división aristotélica de la filosofía especulativa en *naturalis* (física), *doctrinalis* (matemáticas) y *divina* (teología).

⁵⁸ Editado por Ida Maier, "Un inédit de Politien: La classification des 'Arts'", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 22 (1960), 338-355.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 353.

por la medicina. Pero lo más curioso es que Brocar vuelve sobre la misma idea citando esta vez a Platón :

“Quas (la filosofía moral, el derecho y la medicina) deus et natura melior dedit nobis, ut Plato inquit, quasi remedium malorum, ut contra morbos medicinam, contra improbitatem moralem philosophiam atque ius pontificium et civile, quo publica fides atque hominum societas continetur”.

Para Brocar la medicina trata fundamentalmente del cuerpo enfermo; del alma enferma, de “la perversidad moral”, trata la justicia según Platón, el derecho civil y pontificio traduce Brocar. Supongo que a Brocar le parecería un poco extraño que el derecho trate del alma enferma por lo que añadió la filosofía moral y apostilló el derecho con la explicación : “quo publica fides atque hominum societas continetur”. Por lo demás en el resto de la oratio se olvidará de la filosofía moral. Pero el estudiante de Alcalá no deja así el esquema platónico sino que añade además una última ciencia : la teología, con la que nos protegemos de las persecuciones y de las herejías de los impíos⁶⁰.

Brocar nos irá mostrando a continuación, ejemplo tras ejemplo, una serie de errores en libros de medicina (nombres de enfermedades mal interpretados), en los tratados de derecho civil (costumbres antiguas mal entendidas, especialmente por Accursio), y, lo que es más grave, en los textos teológicos⁶¹. Al llegar aquí, el autor nos brinda una apología de la teología; no en balde Alcalá es una Universidad especializada en estudios de Sagrada Escritura, y no en balde también,

⁶⁰ “Addamus nos theologiam contra persecutiones atque teterrimam impiorum haeresin”. (f. A4^v).

⁶¹ Brocar está siguiendo aquí los puntos principales del proyecto de trabajo que propuso Nebrija al obispo Fonseca en el prólogo al *Iuris Civilis Lexicon* : “Quod si intellexero hoc vigiliarum mearum peregrinos labores dignationi tuae probari, agam deinceps tecum multo majoribus et quorum ignoratio majus detrimentum hominum generi parit, hoc est, quae ad medicinam sacrasque litteras pertinent. ... Itaque, post juris civilis vocabularium dabimus id quod ad medicinam confert; deinde quod ad utriusque instrumenti multarum rerum earumque difficillimarum cognitionem maxime est conducibile”. (ed. C. Humberto Núñez, pp. 20-22). Programa que Nebrija cumpliría con sus diversos trabajos sobre el texto de las Sagradas escrituras, especialmente los dos diccionarios que quedaron manuscritos y han sido editados por P. Galindo y A. Ortiz en el segundo tomo (el único aparecido) de la obra *Nebrissensis Biblica*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1950-); y el *Lexicon illarum vocum quae ad Medicamentariam artem pertinent*, editado al final de Dioscórides, *De medicinale materia* (Alcalá, 1518). cf. A. Odriozola, “La Caracola”, pp. 47-48. En ese programa nebrissense quizá influyera alguna de las observaciones de L. Valla en el prólogo de sus *Elegantiae*.

la teología es una ciencia peligrosa en la que hay que matizar bien : “No es que yo ataque el ejemplar del autor, si encuentro algo corrupto por el descuido de los copistas. Quién se atrevería a decir que aquellos famosos hombres se equivocaron, hombres que como dice S. Agustín escribieron iluminados por la presencia del Espíritu Santo. Si en algo los comentaristas se equivocaron no lo achaquemos a la teología, a la que sirven y obedecen la religión, la piedad, la observancia y la verdad, en cuyo olor y fragancia se alimentan las almas como en un paraíso terrenal de delicias. ... Pues las restantes artes como alumnas suyas estarán a su servicio. Llamará la sabiduría a sus esclavas como a una fortaleza. Ellas vendrán con alegría llevando sus manípulos. La filosofía llevará el manípulo de la honestidad, de la modestia y de la sobriedad. Cada una de las artes llevará según su propia naturaleza. La gramática le suministrará los errores de los copistas y de los comentaristas ⁶²”.

Pero la importancia de la gramática no se limita a estas tres ciencias, sino que es necesaria también para la Aritmética, Música, Geometría y Astrología (artes quadriviales de las que no ha tratado en la anterior división). Varios ejemplos, que Brocar no escatima, lo demuestran. Acaba la *Oratio* con una exhortación a los jóvenes al estudio de la lengua latina y de las artes liberales.

Recapitulando resulta evidente que las ideas que expone Brocar no son nuevas ni originales; básicamente dependen y son desarrollo de las de Nebrija : la defensa del título de *grammaticus* (en el sentido polizianesco que vimos en Nebrija), más valioso que el de historiógrafo, retor etc., el derecho del gramático a juzgar y estudiar los textos de todas las otras disciplinas y por último el hacer hincapié en la interdependencia de gramática y teología. Efectivamente las ideas no son nuevas pero es curioso volverlas a encontrar reunidas quizá de una forma más clara que en otros textos del nebrissense.

⁶² “Non quod ipse exemplari prototypo imputem, si quid librariorum incuria depravatum inveniam. Nam quis errasse illos dicere audeat, qui ut Augustinus ait, tanta spiritus sancti presentia illuminati, scriptum aliquid reliquerunt. Si quid praeterea interpretes aberrarunt, illud minime imputemus theologiae, cui religio, pietas, observantia et veritas inserviunt, atque illi parent, cuius odore et fragrantia quasi in terreno deliciarum paradiso fovetur animae ... Caeterae autem artes tanquam alumnae eius ministrabunt ei. Vocabit enim sapientia ancillas suas quasi ad arcem. Illae autem venient cum exultatione portantes manipulos suos. Portabit artium unaquaeque pro qualitate sui ipsius. Grammaticae vero ministrabit illi librariorum sive interpretum errores”. (f. A6^v). Sobre el término *exemplar prototypum*, cf. Silvia Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti*, Sussidi Eruditi, 26 (Roma, 1973), 313.

El siguiente texto que importa para la presencia de Poliziano en España es la *Sylva* del valenciano Juan Angel González⁶³. No hay ningún dato que nos confirme que este texto sea una composición inaugural de un curso, lógicamente de poesía. Pero de hecho el autor está imitando los poemas de Poliziano destinados a la inauguración de sus cursos en Florencia. Desde el título común *Sylva* hasta el tono platónico con que presenta el tema recuerdan el modelo. Creo que no sería demasiado aventurado suponer que el poema de González estaba pensado para la inauguración del curso de poesía en el Estudio de Valencia donde era profesor.

El poema se inicia con la defensa del origen divino de la poesía y de la inspiración poética (siguiendo la teoría neoplatónica)⁶⁴ y la afirmación de que la poesía educó a los primeros hombres en la religión (vs. 1-38). Todo ello enmarcado en una evocación de la edad de oro⁶⁵, como la de la *Nutricia* de Poliziano, al que creo que sigue en algún verso⁶⁶, aunque la fuente principal es el conocido pasaje de Horacio

⁶³ Mosén Juan Angel González fue nombrado catedrático de Poesía de la Universidad de Valencia el 27 de agosto de 1516, y desde ese año hasta 1548, fecha de su muerte, ocupó el cargo excepto en 1520, el año de la revuelta de las Germanías, cf. J. Pastor Fuster, *Biblioteca valenciana*, I, 82, y F. Martí Grajales, *Ensayo de un diccionario*, p. 275. Como profesor de humanidades se encargaba también de las representaciones teatrales en la Universidad. Así, sabemos que en 1532 se representaba a Plauto y se encargaba de ello González, cf. H. Merimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia depuis les origines jusqu'au commencement du XVII^e siècle* (Toulouse, 1913), p. 248.

⁶⁴ Sobre esta teoría en Poliziano, cf. E. Bigi, *La cultura del Poliziano e altri studi umanistici* (Pisa, 1967), p. 93.

⁶⁵ Sobre el tema de la edad de oro en la poesía neolatina, cf. A. W. Grant, "A classical theme in neo-latin", *Latomus*, 16 (1957), 690-706; sobre la vida del tópicos en España remito a mi artículo "Aproximación".

⁶⁶ Las relaciones entre la *Nutricia* y nuestro texto no son casi nunca literales, son principalmente temáticas, y, por tanto, tratándose además de tópicos, pueden ser discutibles. Sin embargo, la coincidencia de Poliziano y González en una serie de puntos (que no proceden de Horacio, al que ambos siguen), y una cierta similitud en el tratamiento de los mismos no creo que sea fortuita. Hay un cierto parecido por ejemplo al destacar que la poesía mostró a los primeros hombres la religión:

González:

Instituit prima religione viros.
Nullos honos sacras fuerat nec cultus ad aras,
orbe erat in toto gens fera, agrestis, iners. (vs. 4-6)

Poliziano:

Nondum religio miseris (si credere fas est),
non pietas, non officium; nec foedera discors,
norat amicitiae vulgus; ... (vs. 51-53)
... et sacra templa per orbem

(*Ars*, 390 y ss.). Los primeros poetas no fueron griegos, ni egipcios, ni asirios, sino que han de buscarse en las Sagradas Escrituras (vs. 39-76)⁶⁷.

En cuanto a los temas, la poesía lo abarca todo, desde la astrología a la geografía o la historia⁶⁸ y libra con ello a los hombres de la muerte del olvido (vs. 83-168)⁶⁹. Las musas consuelan al afligido,

plurima lustrato posuerunt denique coelo.
Sic species terris, vitae sua forma suusque
dis honor, ipse sibi tandem sic reddita mens est. (vs. 112-15)

Sigo en estos versos de Poliziano la edición de L. Gualdo Rosa in F. Arnaldi-L. Gualdo-L. Monti Sabia, *Poeti latini del Quattrocento*, La Letteratura Italiana. Storia e Testi, 15 (Milano-Napoli, 1964), 1001-1100; en lo sucesivo citaré por esa edición dientras no indique lo contrario.

La coincidencia sobre el origen divino de la poesía y el considerar la inspiración poética como una enajenación :

González :

Venit ab astrifero tunc haec sapientia celo,
Moribus humanum compositura genus,
Exuit humanos toto de pectore sensus,
Induit et Phoebi numine corda sacro, (vs. 7-10)

Poliziano :

Donec ab aetherio genitor pertaesus Olympo
socordes animos, longo marcentia somno
pectora, te nostrae, divina Peotica, menti
aurigam dominamque dedit ... (vs. 67-70)
Is rapit evantem fervor, fluctuque furoris,
mens prior it pessum, tum clausus inaestuat alto
corde deus, *toto lymphatus pectore sensus*
exstimulans, ... (vs. 163-66, *Angeli Politiani Opera*,
Basilea, 1553, p. 534).

Este último verso 165 tiene cierta similitud formal con el v. 9 de González.

⁶⁷ Sobre este motivo en las letras hispánicas véase M. R. Lida, "La métrica de la Biblia. Un motivo de Josefo y S. Jerónimo en la literatura española", in *Estudios hispánicos : Homenaje a A. M. Huntington* (Wellesley, 1952), pp. 335-359.

⁶⁸ Ideas similares pueden encontrarse en Gregorius Tiphernas, *de studiis litterarum oratio*, ed. K. Müllner, *Reden*, especialmente p. 187.

⁶⁹ El ejemplo que pone para encarecer la gloria literaria es el de la envidia de Alejandro por Aquiles :

Adde quod aeternum Parnasi e vertice nomen
150 Nascitur, armiferis gloria digna viris.
Magnus Alexander fortunae invidit Achyllis,
Non quia Dardanios vicerat ille duces,
Sed quod inextinctum resonat per carmina nomen,
Quod tua cantavit, grandis Homere, tuba.

Es un tópico fijado por Cicerón, *Pro Archia*, X, 24, y se difunde a través de S. Jerónimo, Gautier de Châtillon, Petrarca, etc. cf. M. R. Lida, "La leyenda de Alejandro en la literatura medieval", in *La tradición clásica en España*, Letras e Ideas,

enseñan ética y leyes, y atacan con sus sátiras a los reyes y a los tiranos (171-186). La poesía enseña los términos apropiados con que se deben presentar los personajes, según sus edades, estamentos y caracteres (vs. 187-204). No hace falta anotar que parte de estas ideas proceden del *Arte poética* de Horacio. Sigue después González sosteniendo la vieja idea de que la poesía es un don natural que no necesita de ninguna retórica (vs. 205-214), punto de vista horaciano de la primacía del *ingenium* sobre el *ars*⁷⁰. Pero la poesía es también fruto de la inspiración divina y esconde bajo hermosa corteza santos sentidos y frutos ocultos en las figuras y personajes antiguos (vs. 235-240)⁷¹. En relación con este carácter divino del poeta están sus costumbres pías y austeras, alejado del vulgo, los honores y las riquezas (vs. 245-280).

Por último González trata de los poetas que ha producido Grecia y el Lacio. Con breves alusiones a sus respectivas obras, van apareciendo Homero y Tirteo entre los griegos, Virgilio, Horacio y Ovidio entre los latinos (vs. 281-308). Sigue después un grupo de poetas de una edad “ni demasiado fértil ni demasiado feliz”⁷². A ella pertenecen hombres doctos como Lucano, Silio Itálico, Marcial y Séneca (vs. 309-320).

Maior 4 (Barcelona, 1975), 184, y de la misma *La Idea de la Fama en la Edad Media Castellana* (Méjico-Buenos Aires, 1952), pp. 20 y 142. Efectivamente el tópico puede llegar a González por muchos conductos, pero es curioso que también en este caso coincida con Poliziano en ese famoso pasaje sobre la gloria literaria, cf. B. Maier, “Agnolo Poliziano”, in *Letteratura Italiana. I Maggiori*, 2 vols (Milano, 1956), I, 258; se trata de los versos 164-168 y 172-175 del *Ambra*:

Quippe deum sancta nascetur origine vates,
qui lucem aeternam factis immanibus addat,
qui regum fera bella tonet grandique tremendas
obruat ore tubas, cuius vocalia Siren
pectora et Aonidum miretur prima sororum : (vs. 164-168)
Quondam etiam nostro iuvenis de sanguine cretus,
dux bello invictus, Gangen domiturus et Indos
atque Semiramias fracturus cuspide turres,
felicem tanto praecone vocabit Achillem. (vs. 172-175)

⁷⁰ Véase L. Gil, *Los antiguos y la “inspiración poética”* (Madrid, 1967), pp. 91-92. Aparece también en Bartolomeo della Fonte, cf. Ch. Trinkaus, “A Humanist’s Image”, p. 106.

⁷¹ Tema ampliamente estudiado por Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant. The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore-London, 1970).

⁷² Esa edad que Erasmo por entonces llamará por primera vez latín de la edad de plata, cf. R. Klein, “Gold- und Silber-Latein”, *Arcadia*, 2 (1967), 248-256.

Después de estos autores comenzó a crecer la yerba mala, se extendieron por el Lacio y por el imperio las lenguas bárbaras hasta que Dios compadecido desde el cielo de esta ruina hizo aparecer el ingenio de Poliziano.

- Hanc deus aetherea miseratus ab arce ruinam,
 Protulit ingenium, Polliciane, tuum.
 335 Sedibus e Latiis tu barbara verba repellens,
 Romana indutus, docte poeta, toga es.
 Restituens tripodas, hederas, oracula, lauros,
 Sacra sti Clario florida sertae deo.
 Venisti assertor, doctos, te vindice, vates
 340 Discimus, in tenebris qui latuere feris.
 Aurea tu Latiae renovasti tempora linguae,
 Restituens Graecis Attica verba viris,
 Tuque in nostra sacros revocasti commoda manes
 Vergilii, toto dictus in orbe Maro.
 345 Hoc decus, has partes, tam rarae haec munera palmae
 Debemus musis, Polliciane, tuis.
 Barbarus hinc, alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
 Ermolaus, Graeca natus et ipse dea est.
 Sub iuga barbaricas ponens sacro ore catervas,
 350 Balbiloquas Latio depulit orbe manus.
 Tempore vel nostro Germanis natus in oris,
 Tu comes auxilio, Rotterodame, venis.
 Qui sanctam edoctus sophiam, musasque trilingues,
 De Gothis victor parta trophaea refers.
 355 Hii sunt, crede mihi, Graecae tria lumina linguae,
 Hii tria sunt Latiae sydera clara togae.

Poliziano nos restituyó la poesía, renovó las lenguas latina y griega, y para nuestro provecho volvió a evocar a los manes de Virgilio, llamado Marón en todo el mundo ⁷³. Después vino Hermolao Barbaro, un segundo Aquiles nacido también de una diosa griega, quien erradicó la barbarie del Lacio. Por último Erasmo, trilingüe y experto en la docta sabiduría. Estos tres son las estrellas y las luces de las lenguas griega y latina. A ellos añade González a Lorenzo Valla, a nuestro Nebrija y al famoso Pico della Mirandola.

⁷³ Aludiendo a la rectificación del nombre del vate de Mantua, *Misc.*, LXXVII.

Es importante subrayar esta interpretación que da González de los varones más importantes del Renacimiento europeo. Para él, el renacer de las buenas letras y de la poesía no se da con Petrarca, por ejemplo, o con los primeros hombres del humanismo italiano del siglo XV, sino que lo hace empezar con la última generación humanística de importancia que produjo Italia, precisamente con Poliziano⁷⁴ y Hermolao Barbaro, a los que después seguirá Erasmo. El hecho no es casual, es reflejo de la importancia que tiene en general ese humanismo filológico representado por Poliziano y Barbaro, para el humanismo hispano de la primera mitad del siglo XVI. Influencia que en muchos casos entra en el cajón de sastre del erasmismo no siéndolo⁷⁵.

Sobre esta influencia de lo que podríamos llamar último humanismo italiano del siglo XV⁷⁶ tenemos otro testimonio en ese elogio de las letras en forma de epístola de Juan Maldonado, la *Paraenesis ad politiores literas*. En cierto pasaje, Maldonado nos da un elenco de autores modernos que sostienen su tesis fundamental: la importancia de la lectura directa de los autores para el aprendizaje del latín. Pero en realidad, lo que da Maldonado no es un simple elenco de testimonios, sino una valoración del humanismo europeo que curiosamente coincide bastante con la que la González. Efectivamente, para Maldonado los autores modernos más importantes, dejando aparte a Valla primer debelador de la barbarie⁷⁷, son: Pontano⁷⁸, Hermolao Barbaro, Pico della Mirandola, Poliziano, Baptista Mantuano, Filipo Beroaldo⁷⁹ y por último Erasmo⁸⁰. El grueso de estos autores son

⁷⁴ La importancia que tiene Poliziano para González se manifiesta incluso en ese poemita dedicatorio al *De re literaria asserenda Oratio* de F. Decio; en el f. a3^o, para encarecer el estilo de Decio, el punto de comparación que aduce es precisamente Poliziano:

Argutus, dives, tersus, sublimis, apertus,
Docte tuam prestat Politiane phrasim.

⁷⁵ Sobre este y otros aspectos del humanismo hispano pronto podremos remitir al libro de F. Rico, *La invención del Renacimiento español*.

⁷⁶ Cf. C. Dionisotti, "Discorso sull'umanesimo italiano" in *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Torino, 1967), pp. 193-194.

⁷⁷ "Omitto Laurentium Vallam, primum et acerrimum barbariae oppugnatorem ac profligatorem" (f. b7^o).

⁷⁸ "Iovianus Pontanus exortus est alter Camillus, qui Capitolium a Gallis, hoc est eloquentiam, bonasque disciplinas, a barbarie vindicaret". (f. b7^o).

⁷⁹ "Quid referam Hermolaum Barbarum, quem Varroni ausim opponere? Quid Picum Mirandulam? Quem si fata mundo non invidissent, obscuraturum Athenarum laudem sibi persuaserant Itali? Quid Angelum Politianum penum ac repositorium omnis

precisamente los representantes de más envergadura de la filología italiana de finales del XV (prescindiendo de Pico della Mirandola y Baptista Mantuano): el viejo maestro Pontano, Hermolao Barbaro, Poliziano y Filippo Beroaldo, cultivadores y creadores de una alta filología, que preparará el camino a Erasmo, pero que no hay que confundir con éste⁸¹.

Resumiendo lo dicho, vemos que a lo largo de los elogios de las letras en España se puede evidenciar la presencia de ideas del docto autor de las *Miscellanea*. Ya en Nebrija y en su colega Arias Barbosa encontramos una postura cercana a la de Poliziano en su defensa del título de *grammaticus*, con capacidad de juzgar y opinar sobre textos de muy diversas disciplinas. Brocar, como discípulo de Nebrija, recoge de una manera quizá más sistemática estas ideas en su discurso inaugural del curso de la Universidad de Alcalá. Juan Angel González tiene una especial predilección por Poliziano, imitándole en su *Sylva*, y, en general (en esto coincide con Juan Maldonado), parece valorar especialmente el humanismo italiano de finales del siglo XV, entre cuyos miembros no sólo está Poliziano, sino también un Hermolao Barbaro o el filósofo Pico della Mirandola.

No hace falta decir que se hubieran podido obtener más datos sobre la influencia de Poliziano en España si no me hubiese limitado a los elogios de las letras. Especialmente en algunos textos filológicos y gramaticales el modelo polizianesco es claro, por ejemplo en esa especie de Miscelánea que es la *Grammatica Propaegnia* de Antonio de Honcala (s.l., s.a., pero anterior a 1522)⁸². A esta influencia se debe

elegantiae, totiusque bonae literaturae? Quid Baptistam Mantuanum, celeberrimum poetam ac pium? Quid Philippum Beroaldum, quem refertissimae bibliothecae posses conferre?" (f. b8^v).

⁸⁰ "Erasmus Roterodamum unum pro multis afferendum in hanc causam testem fidelissimum ac oculatissimum consilium duxi" (f. c1^r).

⁸¹ La importancia que tiene Poliziano y en general el humanismo italiano de un Barbaro o de un Pico en Erasmo es un hecho conocido, cf. E. Garin, "Erasmo e l'umanesimo italiano", *Giornale Critico della Filosofia Italiana*, 50 (1971), 1-13, y D. Harth, *Philologie und praktische Philosophie*, Humanistische Bibliothek, I, 11 (München, 1970), pp. 125-134. Sin duda la admiración de Erasmo por ese humanismo ayudó a su difusión por España. Pero de hecho existía ya una admiración similar (aunque de distinto matiz) en la península desde Nebrija.

⁸² Cf. D. Erasmo, *El Enquiridion o Manual del caballero cristiano*, ed. Dámaso Alonso y prólogo de Marcel Bataillon. Revista de Filología Española. Anejo 16 (Madrid, 1932), 18. Creo que Honcala debía tener presente los *Miscellanea* de Poliziano al reunir esta serie de observaciones curiosas sobre temas o pasajes difíciles, desde cuestiones puramente gramaticales (sobre las preposiciones, sobre la aspiración etc.), hasta explana-

también en parte el gusto de Hernán Núñez Pinciano por las *castigationes*, *annotationes* y *centuriae*⁸³. Tampoco la poesía en latín⁸⁴ y castellano⁸⁵ queda fuera de esta corriente.

El hecho de que en 1554 Sánchez de las Brozas edite las *Sylvae* no es casual⁸⁶, sino que tiene unos antecedentes y viene justificado por un interés por Poliziano desde los inicios del humanismo español. Interés en suma que deberá tenerse en cuenta a la hora de definir y describir ese humanismo.

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ciones de pasajes oscuros (Virgilio, S. Jerónimo etc.), o costumbres antiguas (por ejemplo el capítulo que titula: "Quae fuerit ratio regeneratis degustandi mox a baptisate lac cum melle", f. b3^{r-v}). Incluso algún título recuerda a los de los *Miscellanea*, por ejemplo el "Locus Vergilianus defensus a calumnia Laurentii", f. a2", que parece calcado sobre el primer título de los *Miscellanea*.

⁸³ Cf. J. López Rueda, *Helenistas Españoles del Siglo XVI*, Manuales y Anejos de "Emerita", 27 (Madrid, 1973), 304.

⁸⁴ Por ejemplo el poema de Juan Pérez, "In obitum Politiani", en sus *Libri quattuor in laudem divae Mariae Magdalenae una cum aliis opusculis in fine adiectis* (Toleti, apud fratres Ferrarienses, 1552), f. 71^r. En los *Epigrammata* de Pedro Núñez Delgado (s.l. n.i., 1537) que fueron editados después de su muerte por Cristóbal Núñez, se da al final (sign. k3^v) una lista de los autores empleados y entre otros se cita a Poliziano.

⁸⁵ En Cristóbal de Castillejo el poema "A un Hermafrodito" es traducción del famoso epigrama de Poliziano, cf. C. de Castillejo, *Obras*, ed. J. Domínguez Bordona. Clásicos Castellanos, 72, 79, 88, 91, 4 vols (Madrid, 1926-1929), II, 255-256. A su vez Diego Hurtado de Mendoza utiliza varios pasajes del *Orfeo* de Poliziano en su elegía a la muerte de doña Marina de Aragón, cf. A. González Palencia - E. Mele, *Vida y Obra de don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1941-1943), III, 83-85. En el siglo XVII todavía es citado Poliziano, a la par de Dante y Petrarca, como uno de los grandes poetas italianos, cf. *Colección de Entremeses, Loas, Jácaras y Mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 17-18, 2 vols (Madrid, 1911), 444b, y Lope de Vega en el *Laurel de Apolo* tampoco olvidará mencionar al "docto Poliziano" entre los poetas que cita, cf. *Colección escogida de obras no dramáticas de Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, ed. C. Rosell, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 38 (Madrid, 1856), 220a.

⁸⁶ Precisamente por esas fechas no sólo Sánchez se interesa por Poliziano. Sospecho que determinadas ideas del neoplatonismo poético de Fray Luis se explicarían mejor teniendo en cuenta la tradición de la *Nutricia*. Lo mismo ocurre con el grupo poético sevillano en torno a Herrera: es sintomático por ejemplo que la poesía latina del canónigo Pacheco esté repleta de *iuncturae* de las *Sylvae*. Por otra parte no es extraño encontrar en alguna de las bibliotecas de humanistas españoles las obras de Poliziano; por ejemplo en la de Barahona de Soto, cf. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Luis Barahona de Soto* (Madrid, 1903), p. 545.

Harold G. JONES, III

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, POET

There is a poem, written in Latin, which in all probability is the work of Christopher Columbus*. Until now it has been totally ignored by scholars, even though appearing in print several times. If my attribution is correct, this poem is the only “literary” work to have been written by the Admiral. It is noteworthy, among other reasons, because it was apparently to have been the text on a projected monument in the New World, recording the precepts and admonitions Columbus wished to direct to his present and future heirs. Consequently, one would expect its text to contain a significant statement of the views that the discoverer of America wished to transmit to posterity. I will leave the specific analysis of the piece to Columbian specialists, limiting my contribution to presenting the text and stating the reasons why the work should be attributed to Columbus.

The poem, accompanied by a prose introduction, also in Latin, occurs in conjunction with Columbus’s deed of entail, or “mayorazgo”, and is intimately related to it. The document containing both the “mayorazgo” text and the associated Latin passage disappeared during the eighteenth century, but the texts had been printed at least once in the sixteenth century, and re-edited in the seventeenth¹. In modern times, the “mayorazgo” has been published frequently, in the original Spanish and in translations, but only once has the text of the poem been appended². No attention was paid to the poem then, and to my knowledge it has not been discussed since.

* This paper was read at the Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, Lexington, Kentucky, April 23, 1975. I would like to thank Professor Meyer Reinhold for his helpful observations on the Latin texts.

¹ *Memorial del pleyto sobre la svccesión en possession del estado y mayorazgo de Veragua, marquesado de Iamayca y almirantazgo de las Indias, que fundó don Christóval Colón...* (n.p., n.d. [ca. 1607]), fols. 136 ff. (Edits a *memorial* of ca. 1585 which contains a transcription of the document in question).

² The text of the *mayorazgo* and the poem found in the *Memorial del pleyto* of

The text in question reads³ :

His carminibus continentur mandata et praecepta quae Christophorus Colon Indici maris Insularum Pontarcus, quem Almirantem vocant hispani, testamento reliquit suis haeredibus praesentibus atque futuris. Eos itaque primum monet ut saepe testamentum et haec carmina publice legant et mandata perficiant, quia nisi perfecerint, patrimonio, quod maioricatum vocant, haereditario iure priventur. Primum igitur haeredes Romanam Ecclesiam defendere teneantur, et Ferdinando Regi, et Elisabeth Reginae Hispaniae et Siciliae Christianissimis Principibus et eorum successoribus labores et obsequia praestent. Idem niti debeant Christianorum titulis et Ecclesiae Romanae sanctum vindicare sepulchrum. Genuensium etiam reipublicae auxilium praestent; caeterum id non contra Sedem Apostolicam, nec contra Hispanos Principes faciant. Indiae^a quoque gentes Christianae Religionis ignaras ad Baptisma et Christianae Fidei cultum semper alliciant. Sint denique humani erga omnes, et pietatis amore flagrant, et praesertim erga Deum, ut Deus ipse eos non despiciat. Item iubet ut biduo priusquam confiteantur, sacerdoti, qui eos auditurus et absoluturus sit, legendum testamentum praebeant.

Sancta tui monitus legito monumenta parentis
 Saepius; haec populus cernat te verba legentem;
 Nam, nisi iussa patris facias, te iura relinquent.
 In primis igitur Romam soliumque Tonantis
 5 Defende, et Fidei cultum venerare frequenter.
 Te sibi sudantem aspiciat Ferdinandus et ipsa
 Regina et Princeps et qui nascetur ab illis;
 Solicitum teneat sancti te cura sepulchri.
 Te nostrum natale solum, te menia condita Iano

^a Inde : M.

ca. 1607 was reproduced in *Scritti di Cristoforo Colombo*, ed. Cesare de Lollis, 3 vols. (Rome, 1892-94), 1 : 301-312. The *mayorazgo* alone was published by Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles, desde fines del siglo XV*, 1 (Madrid, 1825), 437-442. It is also to be found in *Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias*, 30 (Madrid, 1878), 481-500, and in a number of later compilations.

³ My text is from *Memorial del pleyto*, fol. 140^v. Incorporated into the text of the *Memorial*, or M, is one variant found in a late sixteenth-century transcription which is in the Vatican Library : MS Barberini Lat. 3604, fol. 198^r.

- 10 Agnoscant semper se, vel sua iura tuentem.
 Indas ad Fidei cultum traducito Gentes.
 Sis pius, humanus, sis mitis, sis ve benignus.
 Denique nostra prius videat mandata sacerdos,
 Quam tibi det veniam, coram peccata fatenti⁴.

The subject of the authenticity of the poem can be approached in four ways, considering (1) Columbus's qualifications for writing a Latin poem, (2) the history of the documents concerned, (3) internal evidence of the interrelation of the texts, and (4) reasons why the poem is unlikely to be a fake or forgery.

We know that Columbus intended to write poetry, but whether he actually did so has been a matter of conjecture. The *Libro de las profecías* was a collection of source material compiled by Columbus to show that his discovery of the New World had been foreordained by God. Columbus had planned to organize this material into a poem, as he says in a letter of 1502 to fray Gaspar Gorritio: "Quando vine [aquí], comencé a sacar las auctoridades que me parecía que hacían al caso..., para después tornarlas a rrever, y las poner en rrima...

⁴ These verses contain the orders and instructions which Christopher Columbus, pontarch [sea-lord] (or admiral as the Spanish say) of the islands of the Indian Sea, left in his will to his heirs present and future. Pursuant to this, he first admonishes them to read the will and these verses often in public and to carry out the instructions. If they fail to do this, they will be deprived of the estate, which is called *mayoricatum* in the law of inheritance. Accordingly, first of all the heirs are bound to defend the Church of Rome, and to render services and obeisances to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, most Christian rulers of Spain and Sicily, and to their successors. Likewise, they shall endeavor as Christians also to liberate the holy sepulchre for the Church of Rome. Moreover, they shall render assistance to the Republic of Genoa, but not thereby act against the Apostolic See nor against the Spanish rulers. They shall ever try to win over the Indian peoples who are ignorant of the Christian religion to baptism and the worship of the Christian faith. They shall, finally, be kindly toward all and ardent with the love of piety, especially toward God, so that God himself may not disdain them. Likewise he orders that two days before they make confession they are to present the will to be read by the priest who is to hear them and grant absolution.

Admonished, read often the sacred documents of your father; let the people hear you reading these words. For if you fail to carry out the orders of your father, you will lose your rights. Above all, then, defend Rome, throne of the thunderer, and frequently venerate the worship of the faith. Let your strenuous exertions be observed by Ferdinand and the queen too and the prince and their descendants. Be particularly concerned with solicitude for the holy sepulchre. Let your native soil, let the city founded by Janus perceive you ever guarding it or its laws. Convert the Indian peoples to the worship of the faith. Be pious, kind, be gentle and be helpful. Finally, let the priest first see my orders before he grants you indulgence when you confess your sins in his presence.

Después sucedió en my otras ocupaciones, por donde no ovo lugar de proseguir my obra, ny lo hay..."⁵. The *Libro de las profecías* is a long and heterogeneous work. To restate its contents in verse would have been a major undertaking, and Columbus must have had confidence in his poetic capabilities to contemplate such a restatement.

According to Antonio de Herrera, Columbus "supo latín i hizo versos"⁶. Of course, Herrera, writing in 1601, is not a contemporary witness. It may be that Herrera, Washington Irving⁷, and others who have referred in passing to the poetic ability of Columbus did so on the basis of the few Spanish poems and verse fragments intercalated in the pages of the *Libro de las profecías*. Indeed, Juan Pérez de Guzmán attributed them to Columbus when he published two of these poems in 1889⁸. Nevertheless, it is probable, as Emiliano Jos has recently indicated⁹, that the verse in the *Libro de las profecías* was not the work of Christopher Columbus but of his son Fernando.

Even if the poetry in the *Libro de las profecías* is not by Columbus, we need not conclude that he did not write verse. He was a reasonably well-educated man of the time, as were other members of his family. In fact, his brother Bartholomeo wrote a Latin poem of seven verses of dactylic hexameter as early as 1488¹⁰. Columbus himself wrote prolifically in Spanish, translated passages of Latin prose and poetry into Spanish prose, and annotated books in Latin, often at considerable length. If, as the prose introduction states, Columbus wanted his heirs to read the poem frequently in public, a poem which contains direct counsels and mandates from father to son, and by extension to all future heirs, it is reasonable to assume that he would want them to be reading his own words. And, as we have seen, he wrote of his plans to compose a major work in verse. Therefore, although there

⁵ De Lollis, *Scritti*, 2: 75.

⁶ Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del Mar Océano* (Madrid, 1601); cited by de Lollis, *Scritti*, 2: lvii.

⁷ Washington Irving, *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, author's revised ed. (New York and London, n.d.), p. 594.

⁸ Juan Pérez de Guzmán, "Los príncipes de la poesía española", *Revista contemporánea* 76 (1889), 565-566.

⁹ Emiliano Jos, *Investigaciones sobre la vida y obras iniciales de don Fernando Colón* (Seville, 1945), p. 48.

¹⁰ John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus. His Life, His Work, His Remains*, 1 (New York and London, 1903), 239-240, n. 1.

is no definitive evidence that Columbus ever wrote poetry, there is no reason to presume that he did not or could not do so ¹¹.

Secondly, a look at the history of the works in question will show that the text of the "mayorazgo" is authentic, and that the passage in Latin, which accompanied the only known document of the "mayorazgo", is contemporary with it. The "mayorazgo" was a kind of trust established by Columbus for the disposition of his estate in perpetuity, including his possessions, revenues, vasallages, and titles. Most of the documentation regarding the "mayorazgo" has disappeared, but its history can be reconstructed as follows. On April 23, 1497, the Spanish sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella authorized Columbus to institute a "mayorazgo". Under the authority of the royal decree, Columbus proceeded to prepare his "Institución del mayorazgo", which was executed on February 22, 1498, though it must have been drawn up prior to October 4, 1497 ¹². The monarchs confirmed the founding of the "mayorazgo" on September 28, 1501. The royal decree and the legal document that was executed on February 22, 1498 vanished early in the sixteenth century, along with the notarial records of the latter. The only text that was known from the sixteenth century on was that of a preliminary copy or memorandum of the "mayorazgo", which is the document with which we shall be concerned. Though not certified, it had authority in the absence of the official document because it was apparently signed by Columbus.

The authenticity of the "mayorazgo" was generally taken for granted until the early years of this century, when Celso García de la Riega ¹³ proposed that Columbus might be Galician rather than Genoese. This necessitated the rejection of the "mayorazgo", which contains the only explicit statement by Columbus that he was from Genoa. This declaration is of course repeated in the poem under consideration. Because of the loss of all primary documentation, including the memorandum in the eighteenth century, those who favored the theory of non-Italian origin were able to argue that the memorandum was a fake, and that the other documents had never existed to begin with. But

¹¹ The reader might wonder if either Bartholomeo or Fernando might have helped Christopher create the poem in question. It is unlikely, since Bartholomeo's one surviving poem (see n. 10) is substantially less competent, and since Fernando was only eight years old at the time.

¹² It refers to Prince Juan as living; he died on October 4, 1497.

¹³ Celso García de la Riega, *Colón español. Su origen y patria* (Madrid, 1914).

in 1926 Alice Gould discovered part of the original royal confirmation, dated September 28, 1501¹⁴. The confirmation shows beyond a doubt that the “mayorazgo” executed on February 28, 1498 was authentic, and that the memorandum contained the same text. Most scholars writing since 1926, such as Luis Astrana Marín¹⁵ have accepted this view, but Salvador de Madariaga¹⁶ has maintained that the “mayorazgo” is a forgery. This view is untenable, as Enrique Bayerri reluctantly admitted in 1961, after reviewing the evidence¹⁷. But what about the Latin passage, which is not part of the “mayorazgo” memorandum proper? When did it become attached to the “mayorazgo”?

The whereabouts of the “mayorazgo” memorandum can be traced from circa 1502 to 1609, and it was apparently seen in the eighteenth century, though it had disappeared by 1796¹⁸. It was a key document in the complicated inheritance lawsuit that ensued on the death of Columbus’s last direct male descendant in 1578, because it contained a statement of the Admiral’s wishes on the order of succession to his estate. Due to its importance, it was described each time that it changed hands. It was carefully preserved in the Monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville from about 1502 to the early 1570s. When it was inventoried in the monastery in 1566, it was the first item in a bound volume of papers in the hand of Martín Rodríguez, scribe and notary of late fifteenth-century Seville, and the person who drew up the “mayorazgo”. At that time the text was described as being written on seven leaves. In 1578 the “mayorazgo” was still in this form, as the notary Pedro de Loba attested. But when the document was turned over to the Council of the Indies on May 13, 1579, it had been extracted from the bound volume. The secretary of the Council received eight leaves with writing on them, “y en la postrera hoja están escritos ciertos

¹⁴ Angel de Altolaguirre, “La real confirmación del mayorazgo fundado por don Cristóbal Colón el 22 de febrero de 1498”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 88 (1926), 330-355.

¹⁵ Luis Astrana Marín, *Cristóbal Colón: su patria, sus restos, y el enigma del descubrimiento de América* (Madrid, n.d. [1929]), pp. 361-397.

¹⁶ Salvador de Madariaga, *Vida del muy magnífico señor don Cristóbal Colón* (Buenos Aires, 1940), pp. 428-429.

¹⁷ Enrique Bayerri Bertomeu, *Colón tal cual fue. Los problemas de la nacionalidad y de la personalidad de Colón y su resolución más justificada*. (Barcelona, 1961), pp. 425-434.

¹⁸ The vicissitudes of the document have been set forth by Angel de Altolaguirre y Duvalé, *Declaraciones hechas por d. Cristóbal, d. Diego y d. Bartolomé Colón acerca de su nacionalidad* (Madrid, 1925), pp. 3-18.

versos en latin”¹⁹. Several later descriptions mention eight leaves (or seven, after the third leaf was stolen), including a final one containing Latin prose and verse.

In short, the Latin is specifically mentioned from 1579 on, and this first mention is when the document has just been removed from a book, the excerpt consisting of eight leaves of writing. Before 1579 the “mayorazgo” memorandum is described as the first item, consisting of seven leaves, in a book of miscellaneous material in the hand of Martín Rodríguez. Does this mean that the leaf bearing a Latin text was added when the “mayorazgo” was extracted? I don’t think so. Presumably the leaf was in the bound book, but was not included in the tally of the “mayorazgo” leaves because it was not, in fact, part of the memorandum. Later, when the “mayorazgo” was isolated, this leaf would have been included because of its relationship to the principal text, and because it probably followed it in the original bound volume. In the careful scrutiny of the memorandum undertaken by order of the court in the 1580’s, no mention is made that the Latin is in a more modern hand or a different hand than that of the “mayorazgo”, so it very likely was not. It would have been, like the memorandum itself, in the hand of Martín Rodríguez, as was all the material in the bound volume. Also, it seems implausible that the Latin would have been published as well as transcribed by hand in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as it was, if the poem had not been contemporary with the memorandum.

I conclude, therefore, that the “mayorazgo” memorandum and the poem—both in the hand of the late fifteenth-century scribe Martín Rodríguez—were bound together with other documents referring to Columbus in one volume, which was deposited in the Columbian archives—specifically, in a large iron chest—in the Monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville around 1502.

So far we have seen that Columbus was apparently capable of writing a brief poem in Latin, and that the poem in question probably accompanied the “mayorazgo” memorandum from the late fifteenth century on. Now we should turn to the texts themselves for further evidence of the poem’s authority. The texts are: (1) the Spanish text of the “mayorazgo”, which was preserved on the seven leaves of the memorandum, (2) the prose paragraph in Latin, preserved on the

¹⁹ Altolaguirre, *Declaraciones*, p. 8.

eighth leaf of the extraction, which is an explanation and introduction to (3) the poem in Latin, which was also transcribed on leaf number eight.

There is an interdependence among the three texts. Each relates to the others, but neither Latin piece is a mere summary, and all three contain exclusive information. This suggests that they were all executed or at least conceived by the same person.

The speaker in the poem is evidently Columbus, though he is not named in the text. Not only does the prose introduction say so, but the poem repeats the essential ideas of Columbus's "mayorazgo" which could only apply to this personage: the statement about a Genoese birthplace, concern about the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, interest in the conversion of the Indians, and fealty to the monarchs of Spain. Furthermore, like the "mayorazgo", the poem is directed from father to son. It appears to be contemporary with the "mayorazgo", because reference is made to Prince Juan, son of Ferdinand and Isabella, who died on October 4, 1497. Yet the poem is not just a rehash of the "mayorazgo", but a separate work. Most of what is spelled out in great detail in the "mayorazgo" is not even mentioned in the poem: the specific bequests from Columbus's properties, the order of succession, the relative importance of the hereditary titles, the way the heir should sign his name, etc. Only the essential mandates regarding faith, fealty, and commemoration of Columbus's birthplace are cited. Material of a more personal nature appears in the poem. The "mayorazgo" lacks the counsel to Don Diego, the firstborn son and heir, to be pious, humane, gentle, and helpful. While the tone of the "mayorazgo" is one of a proud man very much concerned with his lineage, his honors, and his wealth, that of the poem emphasizes the concomitant duties and responsibilities of such a man. Terse as it is, the poem is a personal and even moving document.

While the poem does not refer specifically to the "mayorazgo", the prose paragraph which precedes it does. The prose identifies the speaker of the poem as Columbus, referring to him in the third person. It contains material lacking both in the poem and in the "mayorazgo", which suggests that Columbus may have also written this passage. For example, the Latin prose specifies that the testament, that is, "mayorazgo", should be furnished to the priest *two days* before confession. The other texts do not indicate the time. It also states that both the "mayorazgo" and the poem are to be read publicly by the heir;

the other two texts are less precise on this point, though the poem does refer to “documents” in the plural. The prose also repeats material in the “mayorazgo” absent from the poem, such as an admonition to undertake no harmful actions against the Apostolic See or the Spanish monarchs. Moreover, the author of the prose is presumably not a Spaniard, since he says at one point that Spaniards call a pontarch an admiral, rather than saying “we Spaniards”... etc. Finally, the prose contains an idea lacking in both other texts but similar to a statement which Columbus directs to don Diego in a letter of 1502, on the need to be kind to all men, so that God should not punish him²⁰.

The “mayorazgo” itself contains an indication that there was to be an accompanying poem. The penultimate clause, in abbreviated form, reads: “Item : mando al dicho don Diego, mi hijo, o a quien heredare el dicho mayorazgo, trabaje de mantener y sostener en la Isla Española cuatro buenos maestros en la santa teología, con intención... de convertir a nuestra santa fe todos estos pueblos de las Indias...; y en conmemoración de lo que digo, y de todo lo sobreescrito, hará un bulto de piedra mármol en la dicha iglesia de la Concepción [in Santo Domingo] en el lugar más público, por que traiga de continuo memoria esto que yo digo al dicho don Diego, y a todas las otras personas que le vieren, en el cual bulto estará un letrado que dirá esto”²¹. The last words of the clause—“un letrado que dirá esto”—would seem to indicate that the “letrado” itself was to follow. Since the copy of the “mayorazgo” that survived was only a preliminary one, the absence of the “letrado” is not remarkable. Columbus could have written the “letrado” later, to be inserted in the final version of the “mayorazgo”. Of course, the phrase could be interpreted to mean simply that a “letrado” will say “esto” referring back to the earlier-mentioned “esto que yo digo al dicho don Diego”, but it seems unlikely that Columbus, so scrupulous in the rest of the “mayorazgo”, would leave the wording of a public monumental inscription unformulated. I think that the poem we are considering was meant to be this inscription or “letrado”. It would have been written after the first draft of the “mayorazgo”—that is, the memorandum—for insertion in the final, legalized, version. A copy

²⁰ The letter of March, 1502 reads in part: “[Dios] te honrará, y acrecentará según que honrares a su pueblo; e si maltrataydes a algún d’ellos, Nuestro Señor te tratará mal a ti, y te afligirá, si afligieses a nadie. Así, haz misericordia, y ten por cierto que él hará a ti misericordia”. Quoted from de Lollis, *Scritti*, 1, 2: 168.

²¹ *Colección de documentos*, pp. 499-500.

would then naturally have been appended to the memorandum, for the latter's completeness.

Notice, too, that the "mayorazgo" stresses that the monument is to be erected in what was to become the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, "en el lugar más público, por que traiga de contino memoria esto que yo digo al dicho don Diego, y a todas las otras personas que le vieren". The Latin prose states: "he first admonishes [his heirs] to read the will and these verses often in public". And the poem says: "read often the sacred documents of your father; let the people hear you reading these words". It would seem that all three of these statements allude to the same idea: that Don Diego and later heirs, who would be living in Hispaniola by virtue of their hereditary right to be governors of that island, should be seen and heard reading in public in the cathedral the mandates of the Admiral as engraved on a monument.

So, while there is no mention of a Latin poem in the "mayorazgo" itself, a "letrado" is discussed which could refer to the poem. Therefore, similarities among the three texts and coincidences with other documents by Columbus such as his letters lead me to conclude that these three pieces are interrelated, contemporary, and by the same person, Christopher Columbus.

A final consideration must be whether the Latin texts might be fakes or forgeries. The answer, based in part on what has already been said, would seem to be that they are not. First, there is no discernable reason for such a forgery to have been created. The text had no legal standing, and does not differ significantly in content from the authentic "mayorazgo" text. Second, a forger trying to pass off his work as that of the Admiral would be unlikely to choose poetry as his medium, since to our knowledge Columbus rarely if ever wrote poetry other than in the present instance. Third, no suggestion was ever made during the sixteenth-century lawsuits that the Latin passage might be a fabrication. If it had been, surely notice would have been taken, since the memorandum was the object of scrutiny by as many as eight handwriting experts on a number of occasions, and since the court was on its guard against the many false documents that were circulating at the time. Fourth, a forger, writing well after 1497, would probably not remember to include a mention of Prince Juan in the poem, especially since the prince died before the legalization of the "mayorazgo". For these reasons, then, it is unlikely that the Latin passage, and particularly the poem, is a fake.

In conclusion, all indications are that the Latin poem is by Columbus, and that the Latin prose is probably by him too. The poem was apparently to be inscribed on a monument placed in the center of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, where Columbus's heirs were to read their ancestor's mandates in perpetuity. Such a monument was never built. It is my hope that the process of securing for the text its proper monumental setting may now be undertaken, and that soon these words of the discoverer of America will attain the public recognition which Columbus desired for them almost five centuries ago.

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TWO VERSIONS OF
SEBASTIAN KLONOWIC'S *VICTORIA DEORUM*

The Polish Neo-Latin poet Sebastian Klonowic or Sebastianus Fabianus Acernus Sulimircenus (ca. 1545-1602), a civil servant and mayor of Lublin and rector of the school at Zamość, was known for his sympathy towards the Polish dissenters. He maintained relations with the Lublin anti-trinitarians as well as with the professors of the *Schola Levartoviana* or Socinian school at Lubartow. His relations with the partisans of Arianism had consequences for the success of his *Victoria Deorum* poem.

The *Victoria* is a long moralising and philosophical poem the aim of which was to improve the customs of contemporary Polish society. Klonowic believes that in order to correct the defects of that society one has first to reveal and to censure them. Furthermore the improvement of society begins with the good education of youth, and therefore the *Victoria* is a poem "in qua continetur veri herois educatio". The work offers a series of suggestions for the decent conduct of a young nobleman. Klonowic desires to arouse in him the conviction that the peculiar role nobility assumed in Poland engendered special duties and demanded high moral and intellectual qualities. So much for the contents of the poem.

The *Victoria Deorum* was published without the name of either the author or the editor. On the basis of a bibliographical analysis of the characters used and of the printing technique it has been established that it was printed in two stages. Klonowic published pages 1-96 at an anti-trinitarian press in Krakow (Aleksy Rodecki) in 1587, after the 24th of April. Then printing was suspended because of political and religious troubles until after June 9, 1595, when the work was carried on and the pages 97-684 completed. Eleven copies of this protracted edition are located in Polish libraries. The question is to know whether or not Klonowic reworked his text during the eight years' interruption of the printing process.

In the National Library in Warsaw the folio manuscript *cim.* 203 (120 pp.) preserves fragments of the poem corresponding to pages 161-558 of the printed edition, namely a part of chapter 24, chapters 25 to 39, and part of chapter 40; all together about 15.000 verses out of the 20.000 of the complete poem, which is divided into forty chapters. The manuscript is in the poet's handwriting.

Even a superficial reading of this manuscript shows that it was certainly not used for the printed edition, but one can ask oneself if it represents the 1587 stage of the text, of which Rodecki could only print about one fifth, viz. up to p. 96.

In the printed version the prose summaries preceding each chapter are longer and clearer than in the manuscript. In the verses one notices how the poet tried to improve his style, to make a better choice of words, and to polish his hexameters. In the second printed part of the poem he enriched his work with new examples borrowed from ancient mythology and history. He formulated his progressive ideas more firmly and audaciously. In a word, this printed version represents a more refined state of the poem. In order to illustrate the difference and to show the poet at work I publish below a synoptic edition of one chapter. A complete edition of the whole poem remains, however, highly desirable.

The following sigla are used in my edition :

- C = *Editio Cracoviensis* (Krakow, A. Rodecki, 1587-1595). Verses only to be found in this edition are preceded by the mark =. The figures in the left-hand margin refer to the number of verses in this edition.
- V = *Liber manu scriptus Varsaviensis* (Warsaw, Nat. Library, ms. BOZ Cim. 203). Verses only to be found in this manuscript are preceded by the mark +. The figures in the right-hand margin refer to the number of verses in this manuscript.

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Sebastiani Sulmircensis Acerni

VICTORIA DEORUM

In qua continetur veri herois educatio

Caput vigesimum octavum

(p. 226)

C.

V.

Reprehendit ipsos etiam dynastas et magnates et eos, qui ex oppressione hominum opes impias congerunt.

Ubi etiam poenae tyrannidis obiter enumerantur,

nempe sinistra valetudo, vitae brevitatis, sterilitas, orbitas, mors tragica, heredis profusio, interitus familiae vel certe generis obliterationis.

His addita est rusticorum et agricolarum commendatio et conditionis illorum deploratio, quia tam innocens et utile hominum genus pessime tractetur.

Tangit ipsos quoque procures et eos, qui ex op/pressione hominum opes impias parant. (f. 21^v)

Ubi etiam poenae tyrannidis et infaustae accessionis / divitiarum recensentur,

nempe tenuis valetudo, vitae brevitatis, sterilitas, orbitas, heredum / prodigorum abusus, interitus familiae vel cer/te bonorum in multa capita distributorum at/tenuatio, captivitas ex eaque projecta ignobilitas, supplicia denique sempiterna.

Novatio legum
et consuetudi-
num patriarum

- Vos etiam, proceres, populi quibus agmina parent, (f. 22*)
 Quorum res humeris turbae nituntur agrestis
 Et quibus, arbitrioque Dei caeloque premente,
 Subdita plebs operas debet censumque quotannis;
 5 Vos etiam antiquas leges et iura novatis, 5
 Augentes onus insuetum gemitusque recentes.
 = Praeficitis populo, crudelia corda, ministros,
 = Qui venis affixi peius hirudine mulgent
 = Viscera egenorum et sucto cum sanguine vitam.
 10 = Et velut ungue premit potatque famelicus agnum
 = Collecta rabie et Lybicus leo saevit in agris,
 = Sic quoque ferales humana medullitus ossa
 = Exhaurire solent et calcant iura tyranni;
 = Non flectas illos, etiam si sanguine plores.
 15 = Vix non exigitur pellis moriente colono,
 = Ut sub clitellis asino exanimique caballo

 + *Vix non exigitur de corpore pellis agresti*
 + *Ut sub clitellis asino exanguique camelo*

Procerum
inclementia
(p. 227)

- Detrahit exuvias ingratus agaso laborum.
 Si de fortuna queritur miserabile vulgus, 10
 Heu frustra lacrimas simul et suspiria perdit.
 20 Non magis auditur quam rixa forique tumultus,
 Ut fragor aurai diuturnaue murmura ponti (V : venti)
 Dum strepitus (V : fremitus) fessas saturavit inutilis aures.
 Non movet immitem dominum non ficta doloris 15
 Effigies; macilenta fames depascitur artus;
 25 = Nervis adsiccata cutis vix contegit ossa,

 + *Exhausitque genae maeror luctusque perennis* 17

 Ut sceleton potius dicas mortisque figuram
 Quam vivos hominis vultus animoque vigentes.

v. 8 : Verg., *Georg.*, IV 238 : adfixae venis; de *hirudine* cf. Horat., *Ars P.*, 475; Erasm., *Adag.*, II 4.84.

v. 11 : Cf. Verg., *Aen.*, IX 339-341; Lucan., I 205-206; Erasm., *Adag.*, III 7.8, etc.

v. 14 : Ovid., *Pont.*, III 4.108 : sanguine ploret; cf. Erasm., *Adag.*, II 4.65.

v. 21 : Ovid., *Met.*, XI 330 : ... murmura ponti.

- = Ex oculis manant lacrimae rivique calentes
 = Per tristesque genas guttae volvuntur amarae
 30 = Atque graves gemitus maestissima pectora rumpunt. 20
 Negligit ista suis intenta superbia pompis,
 Nonque preces illam, pietas non mittigat ulla.
 Semper in aerumnis excarnificatur, anhelat (f. 22^v)
 Arida rusticitas, horret, sitit, esurit, alget,

 + *Vix oculos operi furatur et otia somno* (= C 41)

- 35 Sudat, portat (V : *gestat*) onus, queritur, suspirat et omnes 25
 Noctes atque dies operatur et omnia debet
 Ingrato domino, cuius compendia curans
 Decipit ipsa suum genium, torreturque in aestu
 Et tremit hibernis Aquilonibus atque pruinis (V : *procellis*)
 40 Imbre madet, famulos simul et veterina fatigat. 30

 + *Et quoties occurrit hero, munuscula profert* (= C 49)
 + *Rusticus atque saluator non prodit inanis* (= C 48)
 + *Foeno tuta refert paleisque volucris ova* (= C 50)
 + *Pura dat in vili luteaque paropside mella* (= C 51)
 + *Affert et pullos Amerino vimine clausos* (= C 59) 35
 + *Atque incerniculis pastos de foece capones* (= C 60-61)
 + *Tumque probi grandis maturaque virgo coloni* (= C 56)
 + *Fert lactis metam, silvestria munera matris* (= C 57)
 + *Caseolosque novos nutans et pingue colostrum* (= C 58)

- 41 = *Vix oculos operi furatur et otia somno* (= V 24)
 Agricultura Rusticus inventas divinitus excolit artes, 40
 Hic arat, hic pingues (V : *putres*) invertit vomere glebas,
 = Proscindit, minuit rastris, offringat aratro

 + *Comminuit rastris, transverso offringit aratro* 42

- (p. 228) Sementemque facit. Naturae creditor almam
 46 Occulit in terra Cererem foenusque reposcit
 v. 32 : Verg., *Aen.*, V 783 : pietas nec mitigat ulla.
 v. 36 : Verg., *Aen.*, VI 127 : Noctes atque dies...
 v. 41 : Verg., *Aen.*, V 845 : ... oculos furare labori.

		Horrea pro granis, multam pro semine messem.	45
		= Iamque saluator vix unquam prodit inanis : (= V 32)	
		= Occurrit domino, praebet munuscula supplex (= V 31)	
50		= Faeno tuta ferens paleisque volucris ova (= V 33)	
		= Pura vel in vili luteaque paropside mella, (= V 34)	
		= Aut avium fetus orba sub matre receptos	
		= Pupillos partus, infantia pignora silvae,	
		= Atque prius domino dat quam gustaverit ipse	
55		= Primitias horti et stabuli catulosque ferarum.	
		= Iamque probi grandis maturaque virgo coloni (= V 37)	
		= Fert lactis metam, silvestria munera matris, (= V 38)	
		= Caseolosque novos nutans et pingue colostrum (= V 39)	
		= Affert et pullos Amerino vimine clausos, (= V 35)	
60		= Atque incerniculis agitato furfure pastos (= V 36)	
		= Cortales avium coetus gallosque spadones.	
Rusticorum immortalis labor		Semper habet quod agat non segnīs rusticus et cum	46
		Prima novo Zephyro redivivaque prodit hirundo,	
		= Et colubris venit atque invisā ciconia ranis,	

		+ <i>Dum trepidis invisā venit serpentibus ales,</i>	48

		65 = Dum lucis damnum reficit sol aureus atque	
Ver		= Solstitium superans Antarctica deserit astra,	
		= Tum bonus agricola imprimis proscindit inertes	
		= Atque rudes agros, invertit rura secundo,	
		= Tertiat, occat, arat, glebas friat atque fatigat.	
70		Dumque senescentes urit falcemque vocantes	49
Aestas		Sirius et segetum gravidas inclinat aristas	50
(p. 229)		= Dumque statum per tempus Etesia flamina spirant,	
Etesiae venti		= Detondet Cererem ferro messesque colonus	
		= Colligit, in magnum lectas componit acervum.	
75		= Non secus ut metuens hiemi formica futurae	
		= Extruit horreolum et granaria fida cavernis	
Autumnus		= Annonamque senectuti parat undique vectam.	

vv. 48-62: Cf. Mart., III 58.33-44: Nec venit inanis rusticus saluator..., etc.

v. 57: Ovid., *Met.*, XIII 525: ... munera matris.

v. 59: Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, I 265 (Amerina retinacula).

v. 63: Ovid., *Fast.*, I 157: ... prodit hirundo; cf. Horat., *Epist.*, I 7.

vv. 75-77: Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, I 185-186; Horat., *Sat.*, I 1, 33-35.

- = Mox ut in autumnni primordia desinit aestas
 Dum canet primum gelu, grusque novissima migrat, 51
 80 = Ut matutinum frigus desueta momordit

 + *Et matutino dum frigore corpora torpent,* 52 (f. 23^r)

 = Corpora, seposita tum falce resumit aratrum
 = Rusticus et campis iterumque iterumque subactis
 = Sedulus in sulcos porcasque recolligit agrum.
 = Mox Cererem iacit autumnali pulvere spargi
 85 = Gaudentem vernoque luto (Nam fallere saepe
 = Praematura solet satio, serotina semper),
 = Seminibusque probe iactis, tum denique lirant.
 = Proveniunt sata, morigeram se terra colono
 = Praebet et imperiis paret ceditque labori.
 90 = At vero gelida cum saevit Aquarius urna,
 Hiems = Cum Boreas regnat, cum poscit bruma caminos,

 + *Dum gelidam Phoebos supponit Aquarius urnam* 53
 + *Et furialis hiems iubet indulgere caminis*

 = Rustica fuscantur lacrimoso culmina fumo,
 = Agricola in tectis compensat damna dierum,
 = Exercens opus ad nocturnos lucubrat ignes,
 95 = Consumitque faces in opus, consumit amurcam.
 = Increpitat serum ver Pleiadesque morantes,
 = Optat in apricum absumptis prodire lucernis.

 + *Increpitat serum ver aestatemque morantem,* 55
 + *Et votis placidam vocat indignantibus auram,*
 + *Hibernas operi noctes avidissimus addit*
 + *Accensisque diem taedis et lumine supplet.*

 O cura, o semper sua per vestigia labens
 (p. 230) Immortale opus, aeternum labor actus in orbem 60

vv. 85-86 : Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, 18.56 : festinatam sementem saepe decipere, serotinam semper.

v. 90 : Ovid., *Fast.*, II 457 : ... Aquarius urna.

v. 96 : Cf. Verg., *Georg.*, IV 138 : Aestatem increpitans seram Zephyrosque morantes.

v. 99 : Verg., *Georg.*, II 401 : ... labor actus in orbem.

- 100 Agricolae miseri, cui semper nascitur ordo,
 Circulus atque statae leges fastique laborum :
 Colligit ut spargat, spargitque ut colligat idem (V : *olim*);
 Concredit sortem, Cerealia semina, campis,
 Ut metat usuras, usuras postea vertit 65
- 105 In sortem, semperque nova per vota fatigat.
 Quod si spes longas operamque (V : *et vota*) fefellerit annus,
 Agricolae silvas, antiqua cubilia, visunt.
 Annonae penuria Nutrices quercus et vescal undique fagos
 = Concutiunt, dum cara seges Cererisque malignae
 110 = Parca manus paleam stramentaque inania pascit.
- + *Concutiunt, quercu solantur et illice ventres.* (= C 120b)
 + *Parca Ceres largo censu pretioque paratur* 71

- = Fundus inops causatur aquas, sidus et ignes,
 = Cum viles nummi pretiis annona paratur
 = Immensis, caros effusa pecunia ventres
 = Vix alit exigua dape semodioque monetae
 115 = Frumenti modius venit farrisque vetusti.
 Non secus ac redeat recidivum mundus in aurum 72
 = Saturni imperio velut aurea pareat aetas
- + *Non secus ac auro Saturnia palleat aetas* 73

- = Exemploque Midae absumi mandique metalla
 = Et comedi pro frumentis aeraria dicas.
 120 = Glandibus agricolae solantur et illice ventres (= V 70)
 = Nam, Cerere irata, fecundat Iupiter altor
 = Quercus atque nuces; autumnus morbida messis
 = Proveniunt fungi boletorumque caterva,
 = Pomaque nonnunquam et spinorum copia livet.
 125 = Inde famem pestis, populare ac reptile virus,
 = Non temere insequitur. Fungos a funere dici

v. 100 : Verg., *Buc.*, IV 5 et *Aen.*, VII 44 : ... nascitur ordo.

v. 104 : Cic., *De Sen.* 15 : Terra numquam ... sine usura reddit quod accepit.

vv. 106-134 : *De fame* cf. Verg., *Georg.*, I 147-159, etc.

vv. 116-117 : Cf. W. L. Grant, 'A Classical Theme in Neo-Latin', *Latomus*, 16 (1957), 690-706.

vv. 118-119 : Cf. Ovid., *Met.*, XI 85-145.

- (p. 231)
- = Constat; nam perhibent cognatos esse venenis
 = Praesertim, si sponte malos malus anguis adhalat.
 = Cum fruges desunt, occasio mortis Opora
 130 = Crescit, vectigal medicis naulumque Charonti.
 Interea procures, Fortunae matris alumni, 74
 In gremio lactent, genitricis ad ubera ludunt, 75
 = Quid sit acerba fames urgensque iniuria ventris

 + *Quid sit acerba fames, quid sit querimonia ventris* 76

- Ignorant, ideo quoque non miserentur egentum.
 135 Si vero pestis furit atque malignior aër,
 Descriptio Aegros mortales propter delicta potentum
 pestilentiae Enecat : imprimis moritur plebecula pauper, 80
 Artificesque cadunt et ruris turba, coloni.
 = Vulgantur celeres morbi, contagia gliscunt.
 140 Tunc (V : *Tum*) stratum vulgus iacet, ut decussa per hortos
 Putrida poma iacent (V : *ruunt*) trepidante cadentia ramo.
 = Sicut in autumno dum primum frigus adurit
 = Ornos et fragiles alnos, pallentia quassis
 = Devolitant ramis folia, impellentibus Euris,
 145 = Atque caducus honor silvae per inania fertur,
 = Ludibrium saevi Boreae Corique procacis.
 = Tristia tum regnans aperit spectacula Pluto ;
 = In triviis umbrae ludunt, pallentia terrent
 = Corpora per noctesque frequens occursat imago.
 150 = iamque canes querulum latrant, iam carmina bubo
 = Ferales iterans orsus letalia mugit,
 = Exhalat foedam tellus inimica Mephitim.
 = Iam pro nocturnis nebulis et rore benigno
 = Cerberea spuma frutices aspergit et herbas
 155 = Atque venenatos efflat Proserpina fumos.

v. 129 : Opora = Autumno.

vv. 135-206 : *de peste* cf. Lucret., VI 1090-1286; Verg., *Georg.*, III 471-566; *et apud poetas neolatinos : Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 138-139.

vv. 140-141 : Ovid., *Met.*, VII 585-586 : Vulgus erat stratum veluti cum putria motis/
 Poma cadunt ramis agitataque illice glandes.

v. 142 : Verg. *Georg.*, I 93 : ... frigus adurat.

v. 150 : *Georg.*, IV 462 : ... carmine bubo.

 + *Turba sacerdotum seges, aedituisque deorum* (= C 162)

+ *Turba suos questus et vespillonibus affert* (= C 163) 85

(p. 232)

Quidquid deli-
 rant reges, plectuntur Achivi.

Quamvis Atrides, quamvis deliquit Achilles,

(f. 23^v)

Non tamen hos plectit, sed turbam figit Apollo.

Quamvis non populus rapuit Chryseida (V : *Bryseida*), quamvis

Non populus Chrysen Phoebique altaria laesit,

160 Attamen et poenas populus luit, et Deus ultor 90

In caput insontis populi aurea spicula promit.

= *Turba sacerdotum seges, aedituisque deorum* (= V 84)

= *Turba suos questus et vespillonibus auget* (= V 85).

Diffugiunt procures et inexpectata potentis

165 Tela Dei vitant diverticulumque sub isto

Fatorum quaerunt, quod continet omnia, caelo.

At plebis passim exanimis tumulantur acervi, 95

 + *Aggeritur tellus inopi congesta sepulcro.* (= C 173)

+ *Interdum plures scrobe componuntur in una* 97

In tabem sidunt unoque cadavera busto

Plurima mista iacent, et qui non conditur urna

170 = *Contegitur caelo plerunque rapina ferarum.*

 + *Contegitur caelo, cui mundus grande sepulcrum est,* 100

= *Interea magni cives hominesque beati*

= *Urgentur mausoleo vel Amasidis antro*

 + *Maius pyramidum saxis et Amasidis antro* 101

+ *Et mausoleo quod pendet in aere, de quo*

+ *Confinxere sui mendacia splendida Cares.*

 = *Aggeritur tellus inopi congesta sepulcro.* (= V 96)

Subdita turba Deo caelestes excipit iras, 104

v. 157 : *In margine* : Hor., *Epist.*, I 2, 15 (sic, pro 14! : quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi).

vv. 156-159 : *Iliados fabula significatur.*

v. 172 : Cf. Lucan., IX 155 : Non mihi pyramidum tumulis evolsus Amasis; Erasm., *Adag.*, IV 3, 3 : Caricum sepulchrum (*Mausollus erat Carum rex*).

- 175 = Pestilente cadit populari imbuta veneno,
 Immoriturque solo natali credula fati. 105
 = Ut formicarum palans exercitus, ignem
 = Quando subiectum dives concepit acervus,
 = Ambiguus reptat, studio discurrit inani,
 180 = Nec tamen incensam captando deserit urbem;
 = Fortunam patriae sequitur, patriaque ruente
 = Nil caeli superesse putat; comburitur una
 = Cum Laribus plebes, tectisque sonantibus ardens
 = In flammis crepitat, fugiens incendia quaerit :
 185 = Sic etiam populus mortes Divûmque flagella
 = Sustinet, ad patrios cineres occumbere poscit.
 = Mortis honore caret, tacito sed funere raptim
 = Elatus temere in foveam coniectus humatur;
 = Pullataeque nurus lacrimosaeque naenia matrum
 190 = Nusquam cernuntur viduas ululare per urbes;
 = Nusquam prosequitur muliebris corpora lessus,
 = Nec lugubre sonat ferali praefica voce,
 = Nec lacrimas heres mentitur; amicus amico
 = Suspectus refugit. Non designator inertes
 195 = Exequias ducit, nemo funalia praefert.
 Turba Deum placat, sacris assternitur aris, 106
 = Fundit lugubres exhausta per oppida voces,
 = Fert superûm plagas, mortemque expectat in agro,
 = Atque sepulturam patrio vel forte superstes
 200 Reliquias ruris, sedata peste, salutat 107
 Et raros homines. Dolet incommitata suorum
 Funera dinumerans infletaque corpora deflet (V : *plorat*),
 = Matronaeque inopes passim fumantia verrunt
 = Crinibus et perarant genibus delubra Deorum,
 205 = Caelestes iras lacrimarum flumine stinguunt
 = Turpatae faciem defunctaque corpora morbis.
 Bellum tertia ca- Denique dum reges Furiis agitantur et arma 110
 linitas praeter
 famem et pestem Gradivumque vocant, enses et fulmina spirant,
 Suppeditat populus nummos, alimenta futuris
 210 Motibus et bellis; populus quoque saevit in hostem,
 Ut ventus praeceps caecis extrusus (V : *emissus*) ab antris;

- (p. 234) In prima pugnans acie prior excipit ictus, 115
 Et vires illibatas irasque recentes
 Sustinet exertatque, premit premiturque vicissim,
 215 Dum validum robur, dum spiritus integer et Mars (f. 24')
 Aequus utrinque furit, dum primus corpora sanguis
 Respergit primumque irritat proelia vulnus, 120
 = Et nondum vis consenuit saevissima belli,
 Dum calidae mortes et primus in aethere clamor.
 220 Tunc miserum vulgus, sitientis ut hostia Martis,
 = Qua sors obtulerit pugnam, descendit in aequum;
 Caede litat superis (V : *multa et*), plebeio sanguine libat
 Devotum, patriae patrias occumbit ob aras.
 Interea post principia in certamine reges 125
 225 Saepe sibi cavere loco post terga secuti
 = Vulgus inerme, ipsi clipeis armisque corusci
 = Vel scutatorum densa testudine tecti,
 Et quibus in promptu velut ancora sacra paratur
 Praepes equus, qui dedecorisque fugaeque minister,
 230 Si male pugnetur, dominum subduceret hosti. 129
 = Miluus aucupiis ut raro prenditur utque
 = Caedes est dubia et venatio rara leonum,
 = Sic quoque prodigio par est iniuria regum,
 = Servitium infelix, probum, extremumque periculum.
 235 At miseri pedites et rustica turba coloni 130
 Raro (V : *Vix*) elabuntur victi victoribus, imo
 Deserti pendunt procerum (V : *regum*) pro crimine poenas.
 Sed bene re gesta titulos victoria regi
 (p. 235) Comparat. Heu iacet in tenebris plebecula victrix ;
 240 Si male res geritur, plebem confertur in imam 135
 Summi culpa ducis vastaeque infamia cladis.
 Rustici sunt al- Denique rusticitas et plebs incondita nutrit
 tores principum Ingratos proceres, defendit, vestit et ornat,
 Expiat excessus ignobilis hostia regum (V : *mundi*),
 245 Mancipium fati, fortunae ludus iniquae, 140
 Quae premit agricolas, onus omne inclinat in illos,
 Hos ferit, hos iactat partesque volutat in omnes.

- Utque rotatus abit puerili verberare turbo
 Et cadit et surgit, gyros instaurat inanes
 250 Et plagis animam sumit percussus habena. 145
 = Currit et impubi praebet spectacula turbae

 + *Et parvae currens praebet spectacula turbae.*

 Sic fortuna rotat plebem, sic versat agrestem
 = Ut bene sit magnis heroibus atque tyrannis,

 + *Ut bene sit dominis locupletibus atque beatis,* 148

 Ut bene sit lateri et ventri vel partibus illis,
 255 Quas tereti lingua vocitant hypogastria Graii, (f. 24^v)
 Ut bene sit natis et, quae descendet ab illis, 151
 Venturae soboli serisque nepotibus olim;
 Ut sit equus, qui Threiciis adductus ab oris
 Harpyias cursu superet Boreaeque gemellos,
 260 Quos illi quondam parit Actias Orithia; 155
 Sit levis Asturco (V : *Asturcoque levis*), qui tergo molliter alto
 Portet herum, veluti quondam gestabat in undis
 = Iuppiter Europam, ne qua succusset inertem
 = Sessorem illecebris longisque soporibus aegrum,
 265 = Ne femina atque nates misera intertrigine vexet.

 + *Iuppiter Europam, ne succussura molestet* 158
 + *Sessorem dominum femur intertrigine vexans.*

 = Rusticus hoc praestat, ne desint aurea torques
 (p. 236) = A collo pendens et picturata lacerna,

 + *Ut sit Sardonychaia manus torquataque cervix* 160
 + *At gemmis pectus grave, picturata lacerna,*

 Discolor ut dominus variato incedat amictu,

vv. 248-249 : Cf. Tibull., I 5, 3-4.

v. 257 : Ovid., *Met.*, VI 138 : ... serisque nepotibus esto.

v. 259 : gemellos = *Calais et Zethes*.

v. 260 : Verg., *Georg.*, IV 463 : ... Actias Orithia.

- Martius ut picus vel avis Iunonia pavo,
 270 = Ut cristatus epops et pennas lutea Chloris;
 Rusticos esse regum et proce-
 rum nutritores Villicus ut centum veteres ostendet acervos,
 = Frumenti ut liceat magnos converrere montes,
 Ut (V : *Et*) numeret tot oves armentaque bucera pastor, 165
 Quot pavit Siculis dives Polyphemus in arvis (V : *agris*);
 275 Ut sit bursa gravis totos intacta per annos,
 = Ut vivax heres habeat, quod perditus olim
 = Perderet, insano qui concoquet omnia luxu.
 Quin etiam tibi cura facit sudorque coloni,
 Ut bene tam felix oleas herus atque per urbes (V : *urbem*)
 280 Ut spires unguenta procul carosque vapores, 170
 Assyria nardo nec non perfusus Eoo
 = Malobathro et pinguis balano stillante capillos

 + *Malobathro caput et vestes balanoque capillos*

 Balsama pastillosque meros alabastraque fragrans;
 Utque Venafrano niteant tibi membra liquore
 285 Uncta foris veterique intus vegetata (V : *recreata*) Lyaeo, 175

 + *Cellam praeterea solers operarius implet* (= C 292)
 + *Rusticus, ut tibi sit generosi copia Bacchi*,

 Ut cum convivis bene potus amystide certes
 Threicia, victor Baccho (V : *Bromio*) pateraue benigna;
 = Frigoribusque bibas albos, aestate rubellos
 = Vitigenos Bromii latices nectarque Deorum
 290 Evacuesque cados libesque fideliter omne 180
 = Faece tenus vinum, grati invitator amici.

v. 269 : Cf. Ovid., *Fasti*, III 37 : Martia picus avis.

v. 270 : Chloris=Chlorion, qui totus est luteus (Plin., *N.H.*, X 87) : *golden oriole*.

v. 272 : Erasm., *Adag.*, IV 10.14 : frumenti montes.

vv. 281-282 : Horat., *Carm.*, II 11.16 : ... Assyriaque nardo; II 7.7-8 : ... Nitentes/Malobathro Syrio capillos; III 29.4 : pressa tuis balanus capillis.

v. 284 : *De oleo Venafrano* cf. Plin., *N.H.*, XV 3; Mart., XIII 101.

v. 285 : Cf. Plin., *N.H.*, XIV 29 : Duo sunt liquores humanis corporibus gratissimi, intus vini, foris olei.

v. 286 : Cf. Horat., *Carm.*, I 36.14; Isid., *Etym.*, XX 5.

+ *Faece tenuis vinum potans aliquando Falernum*

(f. 25^r)

= Nempe tibi cellam felix operarius implet (= V 176)

= Rusticus, ut villum potes aliquando Falernum,

Et Sinuessanis diffusum in dolia prelis;

(p. 237)

Caecuba praeterea Fundanaque vina ministrat

296 Massica Paelignis addit Trifolinaque miscet.

Generosi vini
apud veteres
Romanos genera

Iam tibi suppeditat Gaurano pressa racemo

185

Et Surrentinis nuper de collibus hausta.

Interdum Nomentano de palmitate lecta

300 Et non ingrati dat (V : *fert*) Mamertina saporis

= Dat quoque vilia Minturnisque palustribus orta (= V 194)

= Albanaque et Setina propagine nata.

Si tibi Spoletina placent, si forte Calena

+ *Si Setina vel Albano nascentia colle*

190

Et Laestrygonio quondam stillantia botro

305 Aut (V : *Et*) quae Ceretana tulit, quae Massilia vitis

Pocula, vel quae progenit tibi molle Tarentum.

+ *Pocula vilia Minturnisque palustribus orta* (= C 301)

Cunctorum dabitur tibi dives (V : *dives tibi*) copia, si tu

195

Rura paterna coles, non emungesque colonos

Vinum Ungari-
cum

Festinans ad opes. Immo tibi Pannonis ora

310 Montibus e patriis generosa vite refusus (V : *generoso palmitate natos*)

Egregios haustus mittet Bromiumque (V : *Bacchumque*) salubrem.

Pocula si tibi forte placent Curetidos uvae,

200

= Pocula quae nobis Iovis incunabula mittunt

= Gnossus et alma Cydon, rapidus quae nutrit Oaxis

+ *Quae nobis magni Iovis incunabula mittunt*

vv. 293-331 : *Nomina vinorum antiquorum sumpsit e Plinio, N.H. XIV, Horatio, Carmina, passim, Martiali XIII 105-125 etc.*

vv. 309-311 : Cf. *adagia Polonica* : 'Vinum Hungaricum in Hungaria est natum, in Polonia educatum'; 'Non est vinum nisi Hungaricum' (Nie ma wina nad Węgrzyna).

v. 313 : Creta.

+ *Gnossus et alma Cydon Gortinaque clara sagittis* 202

315 Pocula sponte tibi ducent Minoia Cretes

Vinum Creticum Vinaque grata deo, Corybantide nata sub Ida,
Lac caeleste Iovis, quod largo flumine fundit 205

Uber Amaltheae locupleteque copia cornu.

Non desunt quoque Marcomano de palmite musta,

320 Vinum dulce quidem, si non infame chiragra

Reddat et in fundo sidentis copia calcis,

Vinum Moravi- Quod nobis Moravus patrio de colle propinat. 210
cum

Est quoque Rhenanum paulo dilutius istis

Rhenanum Sed cerebro levius stomachoque salubrius aegro.

(p. 238) = Dacia praeterea quamvis ignobile villum

Valachicum 326 = Educet, attamen est huius quoque nobilis usus.

Insula quae nobis temeta Canaria mittit, (f. 25°)

Quamvis Fortunata viris est credita priscis, 214

Insula Fortunata bibit (V : *bibat*) quae pocula, nutrit (V : *gignit*)

330 Tartessusque beata simul Gadesque propinquae,

Nos fortuna minor decet et mediocria vina,

Illaque fortunata nocent, minuentia vitam.

Sed quo digredior confuso afflatus odore?

+ *Nescio, quo me tot vinorum spiritus egit.* 220

Quo me, Bacche, tui plenum rapis? Exue iam nos

335 Numine, Bacche, tuo; calefactam desere mentem;

Discute monstra animo, turbatos dilue fumos!

= Ne saevi, sed pace tua, laetissime divûm

+ *Ne saevi. Deus est alius, qui talia curat.*

Vinearum cura = Intermissa loquar, duros celebrabo colonos,

penes rusticos = Qui te falce putant, quibus est tua vinea curae,

esse 340 = Qui tua regna colunt, fodiunt vitesque maritant.

= Qui te decerpunt, in qualis denique calcant

= Diffunduntque cadis tua munera, Bacche, picatis;

v. 319 : Vinum Moravo-Silesium.

v. 324 : Vinum Valachicum et Transsilvanicum.

v. 334 : Horat., *Carm.*, III 25.1-2 : Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui/plenum...?

- Nempe (V : *Deinde*) colonorum sudoribus omnia constant, 225
 = Qui domino sudant totisque operantur in agris.
- 345 Unius ob ventrem tot corpora totque subinde
 Rura fatigantur, tot diripiuntur agrestes.
 Non tamen ista movent hominis praecordia ditis,
 = Quem sors immanem fecit, sors immemor aevi,
 = Quam sit vita fugax hominum; sed vita potentum
- 350 = Atque tyrannorum persaepe fugacior atque
 = Pontificum raro non velocissima fluxit,
 = Et pereunt pompae titulique abolentur inanes;
 (p. 239) = Non secus ut nebulae fumique volatilis umbra
 = In speculo apparens falsa sub imagine somni,
 355 = Ut Zephyri tenues auras, nubisque fragorem
 = Auribus oblitis regerens in cautibus Echo,
 = Exemplarque suum levitate levissima vincens,
 = Sic hominum vitae strepitusque volubilis aevi
 = Ingentesque animae praeterlabuntur honorum.
- 360 Mortales tamen (V : *etenim*) inflati plerunque secundis
 Rebus in oppressos rigidi nimiumque severi 230
 Censores fuerant (V : *fiunt*), et quo sublimius illos
 Sors sua provexit, tanto contemptius (V : *despectius*) urgent
 = Et vexant pavidum vulgus, crudeliter angunt.
- + *Infelix vulgus vexant, crudeliter angunt.*

- 365 Obliti humanae sortis bacchantur et audent
 = Omnia. Non oculus vindex aut numinis ira

 + *Omnia. Nil oculumque Dei numenque morantur.* 235

 = Permovet elatas mentes, nil astra morantur
 = Caelestesque minas. Raroque potentia summa
 = Cum pietate coit; reddit fortuna ferocem.
- 370 Si (V : *Dum*) plorat populus graviore tyrannide tortus (V : *pressus*)
 Connivent epulones in tam triste theatrum,
 = Obturant aures et tam inexorabile pectus.
 Ergo sollicitat plangor penetrabilis astra,

Ad solium Dei voces lacrimaeque feruntur.

375 Percipit ille preces, audit suspiria iudex (V : *vindex*) 240

Insontis tandem populi miseretur et ultor (V : *ab alto*)

Castigat proceres et poenis (V : *poenisque*) afficit (V : *ulciscitur*)
istis :

Attenuat vires et profligata (V : *deplorata*) voluptas

Ire facit miserae properantia tempora vitae

(f. 26^r)

(p. 240) Pinguis enim dominus proprioque in corpore mersus 245

381 Atque latens in se moles abdominis ipsa

Nunquam stante modo pinguedinis atque saginae

Pabula dat febri, morborum semina celat.

= Exemplarque suae mortis miratur et in se

385 = Invitusque diuque videt mollissimus aeger.

Infirmi (V : *Aegroti*) reges addictaque corpora lecto

Raro sparguntur maturis tempora canis, 250

Quique premunt populum, qui vulgus debile vexant

Raro civili pereunt et morte togata.

En Pharius quondam Pelusiacusque tyrannus

391 Ranarum grege foedatur (V : *vexatur*) muscaque canina,

In quem conspirant (V : *coniurant*) elementa furentia, vermes, 255

= Pestes et genii coniurataeque sorores

= Eumenides, artes quoque destituere magistros

+ *Daemones et genii conspirataeque sorores* 256

+ *Eumenides, nebulae, venti nubesque sonorae.*

395 = Tartareae, manes etiam siluere vocati,

= Atque magis responsa ministerium negarunt

= Pollice divino victi verboque potenti.

= In Rubro pelago tandem consumpsit in undis

= Heu populi pestem lassatoremque nefandum (= V 263)

400 = Ipse Deus vindex delectae gentis Hebraeum,

Et quod rana loquax intactum forte (V : *salvum intactumque*) reliquit

Et muscae, volucres, Myiagri exercitus asper,

v. 375 : *In margine* : Psalm. XI 6.

v. 379 : Ovid., *Met.*, III 469 : ... tempora vitae.

v. 386 : Ovid., *Trist.*, III 3.39 : ... corpora lecto. *In margine* : Juv., IV 97.

v. 387 : Ovid., *Met.*, VIII 568 : ... tempora canis.

vv. 389-404 : Cf. *Exodus* VIII-IX.

Oestrorum culicumque dei, quod servat in agris 260
= Vastator genius Nilotica pestis aquarum,

+ *Vastator genius tanti discriminis autor,* 261

405 Id Neptunus atrox Pancheo (V : *Erithreo*) gurgite mersit (V : *perdit*).

+ *Et populi pestem lassatoremque nefandum,* (= C 399)
+ *Et pedites equitesque viros cum rege profectos.* 264

(p. 241) = Magnus Alexander Stygio est extinctus ab haustu (= V 273)

= Terrarum praedo non vicit pocula mortis. (= V 274)

= Tullia carpentum per caesi patris agebat (= V 275)

= Infletum corpus, Romani filia Tulli. (= V 276)

410 = Ille triumphator numeroso vulnere Caesar (= V 280)

= Confossus cecidit, primus dum subigat urbem. (= V 281)

In Phalarinque ruens Acragas et contio tota 265

Extinxit saevum funesta morte tyrannum.

+ *In tauro periit, tauro qui torsit ahenō*

+ *Impositos cives, uteroque remugit eodem.*

+ *Civibus a propriis proprior est occisus et alter*

Pellitur e Siculo extorris Dionysius aula, 270

415 Opprobrium plebis, ludusque, iocusque popinae

Fortunae exemplum fabellaque grata Corinthi.

+ *Magnus Alexander Stygio est superatus ab haustu* (= C 406)

+ *Terrarum victor non vicit pocula mortis* (= C 407)

+ *Tullia carpentum per caesi patris agebat* (= C 408)

(f. 26^v)

+ *Infletum corpus, Romani filia Tulli* (= C 409)

+ *Atque dedit quondam scelerato nomina vico.* 277

417 Tarquinii partim pulsi, partimque perempti

Quorum virtutes inimica superbia pressit. 279

vv. 408-409 : Cf. Livium I 48.

vv. 414-416 : Cf. Erasm., *Adag.*, I 1, 83 : Dionysius Corinthi.

+ *Ille triumphator numeroso vulnere Caesar* (= C 410)

+ *Confossus periit. Periit Pompeius ab ense,*

281

+ *Hostia victoris soceri fixusque veruto*

+ *Abscissum caput Aegypto spectacula praebet.*

Raro Caesaribus priscis sine sanguine funus

420 Obtigit, et siccum tragica sine caede sepulcrum :

285

Pars sibi magna manus in casibus attulit arcis,

= Non paucique sibi letum peperere nocentes.

Incubuerunt alii mucronibus, ex trabe plures

Deformem quaerunt sibi per suspendia mortem ;

425 = Induti laqueo collum iugulosque recludunt,

Pulmo propinatur multis pectusque rubetae ;

Anulus in promptu plerisque venena ministrat ;

290

Heroes quoque Troiani, notissima famae (V : *belli*)

Sidera, vix pauci sedata morte peribant.

430 Portenti simile est inter tot millia Nestor,

Nestor vivacita- Heroum Phoenix, hominum tria saecula vivens.

tis rarum exem-
plum

Nulli tam segnis fuit Atropos, horrida nulli

295

(p. 242)

Dormitat Lachesis nullique Erebeia Clotho :

Tantum, Nelide, tibi, vivacissime regum.

435 Ter siquidem solus pubescis, terque senescis,

Ter calamistratus tenera lanugine florens

Instauras Venerem, renovas renovatus amores,

300

+ *Ter pubem revocas viridesque recolligis annos* (= C 442)

Terque recalvaster prodis niveoque capillo

Frigidus in Venerem, pater invisusque puellis

440 = Hic ubi nunc fuerant crispae refugaeque capronae,

= Calvities regnat frontem nudata senilem.

= Ter pubem revocas viridesque recolligis annos (= V 301)

Terque tibi dentes nutrit gingiva renatos,

= Tergeminum tamen unica mors demessuit aevum.

v. 419 : *In margine* : luv., X 112-113.

v. 426 : Rubeta = rana venenata : cf. Iuv., I 69-70.

v. 444 : Plin., *N.H.*, VII 49 (*in margine falso* : I 67) : ... Arganthonium Gaditanum LXXX annis regnasse prope certum est ; putant quadragesimo coepisse. Cf. Cic., *Sen.*, 69.

+ *Mors tamen unica tergeminum demessuit aevum*

305

- 445 = Ultra mortales rex Arganthonius annos
 = Processit, vel quod pius et iustissimus esset,
 = Vel parcus vini et coitus curaeque coquentis.
 = Iam pietate deos, iam sobrietate retardans
 = Parcarum calathos praetexuit otia motu.
 450 = Quin etiam propter lacrimas gemitusque popelli

 + *Quin etiam propter populi suspiria pressi*

306

 Saepe Deus facit heroum sterilesce matres.

(f. 27^r)

= Caesa velut pinus, quae nullo pullulat aevo,

= Saepe excedunt orbi sine stirpe parentes.

Omnia dives habet praeter solatia prolis.

- 455 Non habet heredem, quamvis sit cetera felix

Non ulli soboles in magna lusat aula,

310

Desertusque sinus gremiumque parentis inane

Divitias facit ingratas aedesque potentum

Lugubres. Heu sincera dulcedine privat,

(p. 243)

Dum patrem blando sua non appellat ore

- 461 Progenies, dum mensa silens mutumque cubile,

315

Infantes epulae desolatique Penates.

At (V : *Vel*) si quid coniunx parit heroina marito,

Plus affert pueri mors immatura doloris,

- 465 Quam modo laetitiae tulerant primordia lucis

Natalisque dies spem ludificata parentum.

320

Quod si filius est illis heresque futurus,

Saepe potestatis patriae pertaesus, ut hostis

Inviso patri tumulum funusque precatur,

- 470 Illius in vitam longumque inquiri in aevum.

324

Sique superstes erit, suboles infensa (V : *proles inimica*) parenti

= Omnia dilapidat miserorum parta querelis,

 + *Omnia dilapidat turpique profundit abusu* (= C 477^b)

326

v. 452 : Cf. Eras., *Adag.*, II 7, 86 : 'Pinus in more' : ... ubi quis funditus radicitusque perit ... nam piceam succisam negant suppullulascere.

v. 467 : *In margine* : Lucius Hostius post bellum cum Hannibale primus parricida inventus fertur. Cf. Plut., *Vita Rom.* 37, 42.

- = Saevitia multa et studio quaesita cruento.
 = Tum gula decoctrix patrimonia tota ligurit,
 475 = Et luxus labefactat opes et spargit in auras
 Filii decoctores Filius, ah, (V : *heu*) fortunarum deforme barathrum, 327
 = Cum rem deliciis turpique profundit abusu; (= V 326)
 = Manibus insultat post funera patris iniqui,
 Stipatus sociis, lurconibus et parasitis. 328
 480 = Quam cito flante Noto tenues distillat in undas (= V 333)
 = Copia Sithoniae nivis et Ripheus acervus, (= V 334)
 = Tam cito dispereunt iniusta peculia luxu (= V 335)
 = Iniusti heredis praebentque Gnathonibus escam;
 = Diffiantur subito in rapidos dilabida ventos;
 485 = Ceu fere Tolossanoque nefastius aurum
 = Attigerint nati compilarintque deorum
 = Scrinia, sic pereunt et consumuntur acervis
 = Corrasis patria cura penitusque liquescunt.
 Praeterea qui serviitiis operisque fatigant
 490 Imbellem populum subiectaque corpora plebem, 330
 Infaustae procerum diraque (V : *multaque*) tyrannide partae
 Delibantur opes sensimque obrepit egestas.

 + *Quam cito flante Noto tenues distillat in undas* (= C 480)
 + *Copia Sithoniae nivis et Ripheus acervus*, (= C 481)
 + *Tam cito dilabi certum est patrimonia luxu.* (= C 482). 335

 Degeneratio po-steritatis Temporis imminuit veteres iniuria stirpes,
 Splendorem generis diuturnior obruit aetas.
 495 Credibile est, qui nunc proscindunt arva, colonos (f. 27*)
 = Regibus antiquis olim prodisse creatos,

 + *Divis esse satos atavis et regibus olim.* 339

 Sed quia longa dies tulit incrementa nepotum, 340
 v. 476 : Erasm., *Adag.*, III 7.41 : 'Charybdis, barathrum' : Hyperbolae proverbiales et
 hae cum hominem maiorem in modum edacem ... barathrum vocamus
 v. 482 : Gnatho nomen est parasiti in *Eunucho Terentiana*.
 v. 485 : Cf. *Iustin.*, XXXII 3.9; Erasm., *Adag.*, I 10, 93 : 'Aurum habet Tolosanum':
 In eum qui magnis ac fatalibus afficitur malis novoque ac miserando exitio
 perit.
 v. 487 : Significat *Pandorae pyxida*.

Divitias patrum, qui dissecuere (V : *divisere*) relictas,
= Ergo divisis opibus minuuntur et agri

+ *Ergo dispersis opibus succedit egestas* 342

500 = Paupertasque subit fortunis iure minutis.
= Paupertatis onus terram defertur ad imam,

+ *Pondus egestatis terram defertur ad imam* 343

Degravat et facit egregios subsidere motus,
= Non secus ut lenta torpens echeneide navis

+ *Non secus ac si destituat sua carbasa ventus* (= C 505) 345

= Certe nec Zephyro, nec remige trusa movetur;

505 = Vel si destituat sidentia carbasa ventus, (= V 345)

Tardius it velum (V : *navis*), nec turbine lina tumescunt,

Sic quoque non raro succumbit spiritus ingens,

Vis (V : *Mens*) generosa virum conceptaque pectore virtus,

Si (V : *Dum*) Fortuna suas irata remiserit auras,

510 = Ut solet alternare vices et flare dolosum,

Cum decrescit res, quando (V : *opum vis, cum*) locupletis acervi

Bonorum aucto-
rum comminutio

Et solidae gazae cedit possessio multis.

351

+ *Praesertim si debilis est animusque pusillus*

+ *Illi, qui nummis addictus perdit eosdem,*

v. 503 : *echeneide* : *piscis remora*. Cf. Plin., *N.H.*, IX 79.

vv. 495 sqq. : *Victoria Deorum*, cap. V :

Dic ubi tum generis discrimina tanta fuerunt,

Dum primaevus Adam, comitatus coniuge sola,

Sub love desertis pernox egisset in agris,

Gramineoque toto dulci requievit in umbra?

Cap. XIV : Probatur ulterius nobilitatem non esse sanguinis, sed strenuitatis, ductis a contrario argumentis ... Magnis et strenuis parentibus nascuntur viles ac degeneres filii.

Cap. XXVI : In quo deinceps respondetur ad tertiam hominum opinionem, qui genuinam nobilitatem ponunt in divitiis et rerum opulentia, virtutem interim suppressantes ... Nobilitas enim non potest acquiri nisi virtute, labore et bonis artibus.

v. 505 : *carbasa ventus* : cf. Ovid., *Ars* II 337; *Rem.*, 531; *Epist.*, VII 171, etc.

Quas genitor genitoris opes grandaevus habebat
 Ac dites (V : *Et tutos*) cumulos heres ex asse relictus,
 515 Hos modo mille tenent generi natiue feroces; 356
 (p. 245) Prodigia posteritas antiqua peculia scindit (V : *perdens*).
 Ergo divitiae capita in quam plurima sectae
 = Diminuunt census, patrimonia sparsa coarctant

 + *Attenuant sensim patrimonia prisca virorum,* 359

Praeclarasque (V : *Illustresque*) domos urgens offuscat egestas.
 520 Atque ita nobilitas plerunque in vulgus abivit, 361
 Ex quo prodierat deformibus oblita naevis;
 Et veluti (V : *Non secus ut*) sorbet rivos Maeotis et amnes,
 Illorum celebres undas et nomina perdens,
 = Sic et pauperie decus absorbetur avitum

 + *Sic quoque paupertate decus vilescit avitum,* 365

525 Desidiamque parit rerum defectus inertem,
 Pauper nobilitas plebescit Per quam non raro virtus generosa refrixit.

+ *Heroumque solent humiles plebescere nati,* (f. 28^r)

= Obruta nobilitas toto putrescet in aevo,
 = Inde faecata miseraque voragine vulgi,
 = Ad natale rudimentum revocata peribit.
 530 Perpetuo studio ni fumida stemmata tergas,
 = Heroum incipient humiles plebescere nati. (= V 368)
 Non paucos etiam miseros facit alea Martis, 370
 Qui prius imperio gentes pressere (V : *rexere*) subactas.
 Namque manu capti stant merx indigna (V : *miseranda*) catastae,
 535 Quos vili pretio sceleratus mango licetur;
 = Qui modo fulgebant in rerum culmine reges,
 = Hos iam barbaricus furor atque insania vexat.

 + *Qui modo fulgebant populi fastigia reges,*
 + *Barbaricos heu coguntur tolerare furores* 375

Dura pedes adedit scabra (V : *tristi*) ferrugine compes;

- Carceris in paedore perit bona portio vitae;
 540 Corpora tota situ squalent arrosa (V : *foecunda*) pediclis;
 = Virus olent alae, incurata cuticula sordet,
 Et qui desidia longa crevere capilli,
 = Furfuribus manant immundis atque tenaci

 + *Lendibus immundis et inertī furfure manant,* 380

- (p. 246) = Lende scatent, latebram tineis umbramque ministrant,
 545 Longa fames tenui macie depascitur ossa.
 Vivitur arbitrio victoris et illud oportet,
 Quod iubet ille, pati. Frustra tum provocat heros
 Ad libertatem. Libertas unica victis
 Haec est : perfundi lacrimis pascique dolore. 385
- 550 Dum patriae notos animus desiderat agros,
 Dissimulata premit tacito suspiria corde.
 = Denique sub domino non audent hiscere victi,
 Dumque sub indigno captis illuditur hoste,
 Saepe verecundam frustra pudor excitat iram.
- 555 Est libertatis pretium cognomine lytron, 390
 Quod numerare solent victi victoribus et quo
 In patriam reditus postliminiumque paratur,
 Quo natale solum ac dulces redduntur amici.
 Hoc pretio tibi tu patriam promitte soluto. 394
- 560 Sique domi pauper fueris lytroque (V : *censuque*) carebis,
 Quo tibi te redimas hosti venalis avaro,
 Nequiquam speras patriam notosque Penates.
 Cogaris expositus (V : *productus*) longa venire sub hasta;
 Coniugioque tuo vernae nascentur inertes; (f. 28^v)
- 565 Immemores proavi nunquam tua stemmata sculptent 400
 = Beryllis et chrysolithis, digitoque superbo
 = Non ostentabunt, patrio nec epistola signo
 = Pressa recondetur cera monstroque notata.
 Si memorabis avos, risum, captive, movebis
- 570 Externo domino, fatuusque vocabere servus.
 (p. 247) Ergo tunc animi vis consternata iacebit (V : *quiescet*),

v. 546 : *In margine* : Verg., *Aen.*, II 354.

v. 552 : Cf. Erasm., *Adag.*, IV 3.79 : Victi non audent hiscere.

- In miserum vulgus tua te fortuna retrudet.
 Dimidium siquidem virtutis demit et aufert 405
 Una noverca dies servili pulvere turpis.
- 575 Ergo qui vere quaerit sibi nobile stemma,
 Felix et locuples fortunae filius heros,
 Artibus atque modis rem quaerat et augeat illis
 = Ornamenta, quibus non imminuantur avorum,

 + *Qui non diminuant famam generisque decorum* 410

- Et (V : Ut) medios tandem vivat laetissimus annos,
 580 Ut pia nobilitas aeterno florida vere
 Perpetuo vigeat (V : *maneant*) nullis emarcida saeculis (V : *nimbis*).
 Ne Deus offensus populi ploratibus (V : *plangoribus*) olim
 = Deleat heredes et pignora patris iniqui.

 + *Puniat heredes et pignora stirpis iniquae,* 415

- Quare purpurei, mortalia numina, reges
 585 Ne fidant opibus Croeso monitore caducis.
 Qua minime sperant, divûm vindicta sequetur,
 A tergo si quidem qui servat (V : *observat qui*) crimina daemon
 = Atque subauscultat, quae committantur in orbe,
 Mille viis agitat scelus, infortunia texit (V : *texens*). 420
- 590 Quod si nunc tacitas evadet vita Megaeras,
 Diis superesse sciant etiam post fata tribunal,
 Praetoresque suos, fora iudiciiue figuram.
 Instaurant litem trepidi sub iudice Manes,
 Exsanguis plorant Umbrae lugubre gementes. 425
- 595 Acta notant alii, causas plerique tuentur.
 His datur Elysium florens hortique piorum,
 Concilia inconcessa malis; incendia saeva (V : *decernitur illis*),
 (p. 248) = Torrentum sceleri cedunt factisque nefandis.
 = Praecipitesque reos alii sub Tartara mittunt

vv. 573-574 : Hom., *Od.*, XVII 322-323 *apud* *Erasm.*, *Adag.*, II 3, 31 : 'Dimidium mentis deprivat Iuppiter illis, / servilis quoscunque viros sors ceperit unquam'.
 Cf. et *Erasm.*, *Adag.*, I 8, 64 : 'Ipsa dies quandoque parens, quandoque noverca'.

v. 576 : Horat., *Sat.*, II 6.49 : ... 'Fortunae filius' omnes.

600 = Et sontes animas, uruntque piacula flammis.

+ *Poenarum locus et glomerans incendia torrens*

+ *Et sontes animas alii sub Tartara mittunt*

430

+ *Praecipitesque reos, exurunt crimina flammis.*

Sed forsán videor tibi nunc, Epicure, iocari

Et vanos dicis commentos ista poetas.

= Taenarias portas nec non Acherusia stagna,

= Umbrarum sedes, iter infelicis Averni;

+ *Taenarias portas, iter infelicis Averni;*

605 Materiam vatúm rides (V : *reris*) nugasque canoras,

435

= Qui miranda sonant, sed raro consona veris;

= Ingenii fetum ostentant, ut simia pullos,

= Mentirique putas Pherecydem, qui negat unquam

= Posse mori tenues animas a funere nostras.

610 Sed veniet tempus, cum tu regionibus illis

Cum (V : *Dum*) fueris mundi novus admirator opaci,

Quod nunc irrides, sero post funera credes

Atque silens hominum volucres (V : *tenues*) mirabere vitas

Et nudos animos, animus quoque nudus et ipse.

440

Warszawa,

Uniwersytet.

Charles GARTON

JOHN CLARKE'S *QUERELA APOLOGETICA*

The *Querela Apologetica* of John Clarke (c. 1596-1657/8) must rank as one of the odder items to appear in a widely-used speech textbook for boys, and the recent mild revival of interest¹ in Clarke suggests that an edited text, together with an English translation (the first, so far as I am aware), may be of use to students of rhetorical infighting over pedagogical method and authorial honesty in the late renaissance. This *cri de cœur* was wrung from Clarke in 1632, when he inserted it (as pp. 376-389) in the fourth edition of his *Formulae Oratoriae*.

As an instructor in composition Clarke was one of the more vigorous clergyman-schoolmaster-rhetoricians in the England of his day, having been teacher or tutor to four sons of the first Earl of Lindsey and having held since 1622 the headmastership of Lincoln School, to which he had been appointed at the age of about twenty-six. His work in general had a twofold thrust, namely, (1) school rhetoric and epistolography in Latin, and (2) methodological assistance to his fellow-clergy in preaching. In the *Querela* he is reacting to sharp, though apparently somewhat underhand, attacks made on him on both these fronts.

As far as school oratory is concerned, he had obviously been bred up on the usual routine of Aphthonius, Erasmus, 'varying', and the rest; but with the gradual waning of men's ability to think, or half-think, in Latin and therefore to speak or compose extemporaneously in that language, Clarke had become a strong believer in the formulary method. This, of course, inevitably had elements of 'varying' built

¹ His *Dux Grammaticus*, *Dux Oratorius*, and *Two-fold Praxis of the Whole Latine Syntaxe* were republished in 1970 by the Scholar Press (of 39 Great Russell Street, London, England, WC1B 3PH). The Scholar Press has also reissued two works by Clarke's pupil and imitator William Walker. Clarke's *Orations and Declamations at Lincoln School* have been edited and translated by myself in the Arethusa Monographs series, No. 4 (1972). This series is published by the Department of Classics, Clemens Hall, Amherst Campus, State University of New York/Buffalo, N.Y. 14261, U.S.A.

into it, and thus a leaning towards the florid or the 'rhetorical' in a pejorative sense. The trend in this direction was apparent in Clarke's own school even in the short time since the headmastership of William Temple in the 1580's. In Temple's commentary on Ramus' *Logic* the emphasis is on thought and workmanlike exposition. Clarke has a tendency to figure-skate.

As a textbook-writer Clarke had begun in a small and specialized way with a book of formulae for, that is, practical examples of, the *link-points* by which a theme, oration, or declamation is fashioned into a chain of discourse. Erasmus had called these the formulae *transeundi*, and Clarke accordingly entitled his book *Transitionum Formulae*. But almost immediately he began to expand it into a more general textbook on speechmaking and the allied art of epistolography, with formulae illustrative of the whole range of functions found requisite in these arts. So far as the basic structure of a composition is concerned, his teaching followed the agreed traditional lines of exordium, narration, partition, and so forth; but his distinctive characteristic is the richness and range of the formulae he amasses—formulae partly of his own devising and partly drawn (with acknowledgment) from earlier educational writers such as Jean Tixier (Textor). Clarke as a matter of course provided formulae for such needs as beginning, securing goodwill and attention, for propounding, for making transition to all the different elements of proof, for refuting, for perorating (by recapitulation and otherwise), and for moderating between antagonists. And he renamed the book *Formulae Oratoriae*². But as a fruit of his reading and thinking—it was not for nothing that he was concurrently editing the *Colloquies* of Erasmus—he went on to make his book the repository of an almost limitless series of further formulae—acceptable patterns for such transactions as accosting, greeting, admiring, accusing, insinuating, commending, conciliating, incriminating, requesting, thanking, replying to thanks, deprecating ... the list runs on through doubting, urging, dissuading, excusing, and objurgating, to consulting and consoling, lamenting and reconciling, leave-taking and the adding of afterthoughts. It ends with what he calls formulae *dandi*, by which

² The first and second editions (both apparently 1628) had the title *Transitionum Formulae*. For the third edition the title *Formulae Oratoriae* was entered in the Stationers' Register on Jan. 1 1628/9. The fourth edition is 1632. As C. points out in the *Querela*, the editions were successively expanded. However, copies of the first and third seem not to have survived.

boys were taught how to subscribe a document such as a letter or preface with place and date of issuance. *E Schola nostra Lincolnensi, pridie Iduum Junii* is one example—one that arose very naturally in Clarke's own work and class-teaching—and he exuberantly parallels this Latin allusion to Lincoln School with another one in Greek.

The criticism to which he was subjected came partly, as his Lincoln School speeches³ show, from parents of his own pupils, and partly from teachers in other parts of the country. They accused him of pedantry, of overemphasis on trifles and puerilities, and in general of doing boys more harm than good. His *Querela* gives us his partly reasoned, partly hotheaded answer to these charges, making in particular the point that the pabulum he offers is only a *preparation* for composition in adult life and has of necessity to be puerile in the sense of being adapted to boyish minds. He also reveals, in self-vindication, that his earlier editions have sold to the tune of some 7,000 copies. When it is remembered that a school in those days was considered to be flourishing if it had 100 pupils, Clarke's sales-figure reveals a really astonishing demand for his work in the contemporary school milieu. As he rightly points out, his enemies cannot have it both ways.

He also considered it part of his calling to provide methodological instruction for actual or prospective preachers of sermons, that is, to teach a *methodus concionandi*. This was a natural adjunct to his schoolwork since, of the boys who went on from Lincoln School and similar institutions to the university, probably more became clerics than followed any other single profession. It was also traditional in the school at Lincoln, at least in the sense that already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one of Clarke's predecessors, chancellor William de Montibus, had obtained a high reputation for schooling young priests in this very art.

It was in 1630 that Clarke launched publicly into this field with his volume called *Holy Oyle*. He had probably been reading—working over—the King James Bible ever since it first came out in 1611. What he now offered was a comprehensive (more than 450-page) repository of biblical texts and phrases distributed under alphabetically arranged topical heads. The idea of this was to provide preachers with texts and, once a text was chosen, to help them find their way about the

³ Arethusa Monographs 4 (above, n. 1).

bible when seeking supportive or illustrative material. Preceding Cruden's Complete Concordance (1737) by over a century, the work met many of the needs which a concordance is intended to satisfy. But the part of Clarke's volume which seems to have attracted most attention was the first of two small supplements at the end, known as the *Oratoria Sacra*⁴. In this he outlines (in Latin although the intended application was for preaching in English) the method by which sermons should be constructed. He leads the apprentice preacher through the traditional lore of text, context, scope, 'partition', and interpretation, and thence to the accepted further procedures of paraphrase, the pointing out of doctrinal principles involved, proofs, objections, illustration, utility, and application. The usefulness of this vademecum lies in its clarity of lay-out and its succinctness. It was not especially original in method, nor did Clarke claim that it was—in fact, as the *Querela* makes clear, he rather went out of his way to show his indebtedness to others. But partly through a misunderstanding, the cause of which he explains, and partly perhaps because of a real though unjustified *invidia* felt towards him—the kind of *invidia* likely to be felt towards any still youngish teacher who is unusually active or prolific in the matter of publishing—bitter criticism developed. The nub of it was to the effect that Clarke was disingenuous: a plagiarist and a pretentious fraud. He seems to have been right in holding that, all misunderstandings apart, there was an element of gratuitous ill-will against him. At any rate this is strongly suggested by the fact that the attacks on him were covert rather than open, so that he only came to hear of them indirectly. The *Querela* gives his extremely nettled reaction.

Besides thus occupying a niche in the history of both formulary rhetoric and the methodology of preaching, the *Querela* is also of interest by reason of its own style—a teacher seriously putting into practice in his own cause the principles of composition which it is his life's work to inculcate into others. It is a good example of what was considered allowable invective, tending somewhat towards the florid (as was natural to a mind so steeped in formulae), but in all its outspokenness never overstepping certain bounds. For while it contains things which Clarke regrets having to sink to, and for which he

⁴ C's *Oratoria Sacra*, more fully entitled *Oratoriae Sacrae Skiagraphia sive Ecclesiastica Succincta, Methodo Delineata*, is subjoined as pp. 465-498 to his *Holy Oyle for the Lampes of the Sanctuarie: or, Scripture-Phrases Alphabetically Disposed* (London 1630).

apologizes to the reader, it scrupulously avoids anything that could give serious offence in a school textbook, that is, anything profane, blasphemous, seditious, or immoral. It is noticeable also how Clarke's emotions overflow the Ciceronian-periodic mold into which it is axiomatic that they must be cast. This leads at moments to a fulness of expression which, because it verges on Sterne-like incoherence, I have sometimes felt justified in mediating (in the translation) by dashes. The emotions of a textbook writer have normally to be kept on a strict, even oppressive, leash. It must have interested Clarke's readers, and not least his young charges at Lincoln School, to see something of the human side of an allegedly 'pedantic' teacher who was at the same time an admittedly learned and pious man, when he for once allowed the barriers to come down.

QVERELA APOLOGETICA

ad Lectorem Benevolum *

376 Atque sic, hac, ut vides, quarta nunc vice, pueriles istae minutiae, *Formulae Oratoriae*, in lucem prodeunt (Dei O.M. singulari beneficio, cui igitur soli omnis aeternum esto gloria, ipse enim nec sum nec possum aliquid): quas quoniam avidius undique arreptas a tyronibus scholasticis primum vidimus, priores tres Editiones⁵ pro modulo sigillatim suo locupletavimus. Hac vero ultima nostra cura & cultura
377 demum, illud ecce opusculum in Hortum jam | succrevit Oratorium, quem selectioribus plantis, herbis salubribus, suavissimisque <ar>boribus areatim sevimus; unde aurea mala, florum fasciculos, thymum pariter ac ceram legant scholastici — sua qua

liquentia mella

*Stipent, ac dulci distendunt nectare cellas*⁶.

Quod si ab Horto Oratorio in Musarum ulterius Parnassum cupiant conscendere, en porro *Ducem Poeticum*, privatis olim tyronibus conscriptum, quem nunc emeritum rude donavimus, Apollineae juventutis comitem.

Vides Lector, ecce vides animum in me satis liberalem (quidni enim meipsum apud te commendem, cum tam malevolos passim invidosque vicinos habeam), promi magis quam condi^a, non gravatim^b deferentis in publicum vel micās duas^c, quicquid tandem aut quantillum penes me aut in penu fuerit (cui valde est curta, fatebor enim, supellex domi) quod tibi tuisve vel prodesse queat vel delectare.

Non nobis certe solum nati sumus, pro patriae salute, proque patria salutis nullus non labor subeundus est: me quod attinet (qui omnibus
378 quam potui | studijs, votis, conatibus non inutiliter vixisse cupierim), ut divinum illum aliquando ethnicum⁷ vixisse, uti spero, non paenitebit

* Marginal figures give the pagination in C's *Formulae Oratoriae*⁴ (London 1632). My text is based on a microfilm of the British Museum copy of this book. I have not thought it necessary to reprint C's own marginalia, which mainly refer to parallel sentiments in classical and other authors.

^a With allusion to Plaut., *Pseud.* 608.

^b A necessary correction for *gravatim non*. I am indebted to Prof. L. G. Westerink for advice on this difficult sentence.

^c Literally 'two crumbs', but C. refers in a marginal note to Mark 12.42, showing that the intended sense is *duo minuta*, 'two mites'.

QUERELA APOLOGETICA

To the Well-disposed Reader

And so for this fourth time, now, as you see, these schoolboy trifles, these *Formulae Oratoriae*, see the light. They do so by the singular goodness of Almighty God, to whom therefore alone be all glory for ever — for of myself I neither am nor can do anything. And as I saw them everywhere eagerly snapped up by schoolboy apprentices to the art, I enriched the three previous editions⁵ each in its own measure. But by dint of this my latest care and cultivation, that opusculum has, as you see, now finally grown into a Garden of Eloquence, which I have sown with beds of choice plants, wholesome herbs, and most pleasant trees, where schoolboys may gather golden apples, bunches of flowers, thyme also and wax with which to 'pack their liquid honey, as they cram their cells with sweet nectar'⁶.

And if from the Garden of Eloquence they wish to mount up further, onto the Muses' Parnassus, here in addition is a *Dux Poeticus*, originally compiled for private pupils of mine, which now that it has served its time out in that capacity I have duly emancipated to be a companion for young people of Apollonian aspirations.

You notice, Reader, don't you—you notice in me a spirit which is not ungenerous—for why should I not sing my own praises to you when I am surrounded by such ill-disposed and churlish neighbors?—the spirit of a dispenser rather than a hoarder—of one who doesn't grudge to contribute to the common store his couple of mites—anyway all that I had—or rather all the little that I had either with me or in store—since what I am furnished with at home is, I will admit, very meager—which could give either profit or pleasure to you and yours.

We are certainly not born for ourselves alone: for the salvation of our country—and for the country of our salvation—no pains should be spared. So far as concerns myself—and by every study, prayer, and exertion that I could I would wish not to have lived uselessly—I shall not, I hope, be sorry to have lived—any more than that heroic pagan⁷ of old—when I come to reflect that my life has been such that I don't feel I was born in vain.

⁵ See n. 2, above. The *Dux Poeticus*, mentioned below, was included in the same volume.

⁶ Virg., *Aen.* 1.432-433.

⁷ Cato the Censor, in Cic., *De Sen.*, 3.9.

olim, quum ita me vixisse meminero ut frustra me natum esse non existimem.

Vsque tamen adeo grassatur in terris & debacchatur passim, furijs comitata efferis, ἡ Διαβολή (quod Magnus ille Erasmus⁸ olim conquestus est), ut nihil uspiam tutum maneat a sycophantarum morsibus maledicentissimorum (hominum dicam an belluarum?) delatione dilaniatione. Inciderunt scilicet tam haec quam alia nostra opuscula in lictores quosdam (potius quam lectores) & carnifices, famae, siqua unquam fuit, innocentiaeque meae, misera invidiae mancipia, rabiosos detractores, qui omnia mordicus arripiunt, nequiter sugillant, conculcant misere, milleque convicijs indigne lacerant.

Quos ego ceu latrantes caniculos cum contemptu praeterire, imo silentio pertinaci quietem ab irrequietis redimere, statuissem serio, nisi inaudieram longe lateque increbuisse importunas ipsorum criminationes, quas quidem turpe putabam

*Et dici potuisse et non potuisse refelli*⁹.

379 Nam quod scurrae isti nasutuli obstre-|puere passim, quod formulas hasce sannis posticis & sarcasmis excepere, quod genuinum fregit in illis horum invidia (quas infra invidiam subsedissem sperabam) inclamando saepius pueriles esse ineptias, frivolas nugas, crepundia, meras affanias, ignaviae scholasticae illecebras, unde accreverit plus multo detrimenti & incommodi studiosis quam emolumenti uspiam (facere enim ut otio torpescere malint, hebefacto acumine, inventione sopita & retardata, pigri pueri, cum habeant hinc quas praetexere possunt formulas nulla arte, nulla industria sua conquisitas): Respondeo —

1. Esse revera ineptias, nec me aliud unquam honorificentius de illis sensisse olim: nec tamen adeo ineptas ut alicui non inserviant usui apud pueros, quos ineptire aliquoties permittitur: virilibus, haud refragabor, ineptas studijs — cothurnuli Herculis pedibus non induendi.
2. Pueriles porro esse non diffitebor, solis nempe pueris concinnantur; sunt tantum formulae quibus balbutientem adhuc infantiam ad numeros nervosque oratorios efformare studui. Nec operam in his meam luisse me prorsus autumo, nisi forsitan auribus blandiantur

⁸ Erasmus, at the beginning of the *De Utilitate Colloquiorum*, which he added to his *Colloquies* in 1526. See *Opera Omnia* D. Erasmi Roterodami, I 3 (Amsterdam, 1972), p. 741.

⁹ Ovid, *Met.*, I. 759.

Yet to such a degree does Diabolic Slander—as the great Erasmus⁸ once complained—stalk the world and rampage everywhere, accompanied by savage furies, that nothing anywhere remains safe from the jaws of calumniators—from being denounced and trounced by most abusive—men shall I call them or beasts? The fact is that these, like other opuscula of mine, have encountered a kind of rods-men—rather than readers—and executioners of such good name as I may ever have had, and of my innocence—miserable slaves of envy, rabid detractors, who fasten upon everything with their teeth, bruise it foully, trample it piteously, and cruelly tear it with a thousand shouted insults.

These persons like yapping pups it would have been my resolve to pass by with contempt—or rather with unbroken silence to win quietude from the unquiet—had I not heard that the persistent accusations of these very people had been spread far and wide, so that it seemed to me a great shame ‘that they could be uttered and yet could not be refuted’⁹.

These snide comics have kicked up a fuss to right and left. They have reacted to these *Formulae* of mine with grimaces and sarcastic words behind my back. Upon my *Formulae*, which I was hoping had taken a place too humble for ill-will, their ill-will has broken its molars—crying out time and again that they are childish triflings, sorry trivia, toys, mere empty prattle, and an enticement to schoolboy idleness, from which, they say, there has accrued to students much more harm and inconvenience than benefit in any quarter. For, it was said, they caused lazy boys to prefer sinking into the torpor of idleness, with the edge of their mind blunted and their invention rendered drowsy and slow, since they have from this source *formulae* which they can use as a cloak, and which have not been obtained by any skill or hard work of their own.

To all this I reply :

1. That my *Formulae* are indeed triflings, nor did I ever at the time rate them any more highly; yet not so trifling but what they can serve a purpose among schoolboys, who, it is allowed, may occasionally trifle. Trifling they are; I will not gainsay, in relation to the studies of manhood. It is in no miniature buskins that the feet of Hercules are to be shod.
2. Childish moreover I will not deny them to be—sure, it is for children alone that they are put together—they are only the *formulae* with which I have studied to shape an as yet stammering infancy to

380 meis qui gratias mihi plurimas ea de re egerunt saepius, literis
insuper ad me missis, conatum hunc nostrum sibi suisque non semel
gratulantibus. Quodque certis-|simi mihi est et apodictici loco
argumenti, cum fructu saltem mediocri istas legi, septem jam fere
millia (Deo gratias) palam divendita in studiosulorum manibus
teruntur passim.

3. Quod autem plus inde obvenit discipulis suis detrimenti, serio est
quod lugeam. — Sed quo tandem modo? cujus istud contingit vitio?
Certe non meo, sed otiosulorum puerorum indiligentia, oscitantium
forsan paedagogulorum incuria, qui usum harum nec noverunt ipsi
nec demonstrant suis. Sin vero sint adeo prorsus inutiles aut noxia
pueris, cur suis non interdiciuntur protenus & scholis exulant? Ego
plane neque suum neque suorum emendicavi uspiam aut ambivi
suffragium. Cur isti igitur superciliosi magistrelluli utilioremi ipsi
non navant operam? cur nihil adhuc parturiant istiusmodi, cui
demum nil in terris simile aut secundum videatur? aut cum rana
(in fabula) rumpunt sibi ilia, in conatu aliquopiam utiliori?

— *an erit qui velle recuset*

Os populi meruisse, et cedro digna locutus

*Linquere?*¹⁰

381 Facillimum quidem est & fuit semper, alienum opus reprehendere,
sed non perinde facile aliquid simile, aut prestantius conficere :
μωμεῖσθαι ῥᾶδιον, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ χαλεπώτερόν ἐστι.¹¹ — Nec me
adeo clam est homines nequam re-|bus etiam optimis in perniciem
tum sui, tum aliorum abusuros: nonne vinum in ebrietatem, cibus
in crapulam, vestes in superbiam, imo salutaris Dei gratia in lasci-
viam vertitur? Proinde neque mirum est, si araneae tales exugant
venenum ex dulcissimis floribus; nihil praeter morem suum faciant si
fremant, frendant, grunniant, latrent Momi¹² isti rudesque magistrelluli,
aliorumque famam & bene merita jugulent nequissime; male loquuntur,
quia bene loqui non didicerunt; faciunt non quod mereor, sed quod
solent. Verumsi tumidi isti montes sint sive colliculi, sui foetulas (*sic!*)

¹⁰ Pers., l. 41-43. For the 'frog in the fable', mentioned by C. just above see Phaedrus 24, cf. Babrius, 28.

¹¹ Source latent. The same Greek word-play occurs in some verses by the German priest Franciscus Xaverius Trips (Cologne 1630-Honnef 1696), printed in P. Eschenbrender's *Tyrocinium poeticum* (Frankfort, 1763): see J. IJsewijn in *Latomus*, 29 (1970), 228.

¹² Momus was a Greek mythical personification of fault-finding, jeering, and satirizing.

the rhythms and the sinews of eloquence. And I fancy that my work in regard to these has not altogether made mock of me, unless perhaps those persons who have often thanked me profusely in this connection are merely flattering my ears. They have written me letters, too, on more than one occasion, congratulating this endeavor of mine in their own and their pupils' behalf. And—which is my surest evidence and has the value of an apodictic argument that they are being read with at least moderate profit—by now around seven thousand copies (thanks be to God) have been sold and are everywhere in use in the hands of studious youngsters.

3. Now as to the charge that they have done more harm than good to their own pupils, this gives me ground for feeling real pain. But—in what fashion, may I ask?—by whose fault does this harm happen to them? Certainly not by mine, but through the slothfulness of idle little boys—perhaps through the negligence of yawning little pedagogues, who neither know the use of my *formulae* themselves nor make it plain to their pupils. However, if the *formulae* are so thoroughly useless or are something that does harm to boys, why are they not immediately forbidden to these men's pupils and sent packing from their schools? I have certainly nowhere gone and begged or canvassed for the support of either the teachers or their protégés. Why therefore do those supercilious and halfbaked schoolmasters not do a more useful job themselves? Why are they not as yet in labor with anything of a kind which would seem to be without peer, and without a second, in all the world?—or why don't they with the frog in the fable burst their insides out in some more useful endeavor? 'Will anyone be found to disown the wish of meriting a place in the mouth of men, and of leaving utterances worth preserving with cedar oil?' ¹⁰

It is indeed very easy, and always has been, to criticize the work of another, but not so easy to produce something of the same kind or superior: 'to blame is easy, to imitate is harder' ¹¹. And I am well aware that bad men, even when things are of the best, will misuse them to the undoing sometimes of themselves and sometimes of others. Is not wine misused for drunkenness—food for sick surfeit—clothes for vainglory—why, and even the saving grace of God for wanton levity? So neither is it any wonder if spiders like this suck venom out of the sweetest flowers—they would do nothing out of line with their ordinary behavior if they snorted, gnashed, growled, and barked—those Momuses ¹² and raw, halfbaked young teachers—slaughter the good repute

cerebelluli parturirent aliquando tandem, mures aequae forsitan ridiculi nascerentur¹³, libelluli aequae illepidi, ac mihi nunc; quos alij plerique, fortassis ego ipse (salva reverentia tua, Lector) anitergij nonnunquam loco habiturus siem.

Inducant nos in scenam, coelum terrae misceant, habeant ac nostra pro ludibrio, nec hoc me hilum movet cum noverim doctiores sanctionesque passim viros (quorum scripta magno cum bonorum plausu lucem viderant) sibilari ab istis nebulonibus & explodi: quique novit unquam Socratem, Aristidem, Catonem, &c. — isthuc quod aio, non possunt penitus ignorare. Quocirca si fungi isti Horti nostri Oratorij carpere non destiterint aut fastidire polyanthemata, lappagines¹⁴,
 382 | rosas & lilia sparsim germinantia, suis porro porris, brassicis, lapathis, cynorhodi libere vescantur, ut similes sic habeant labra lactucas¹⁵ (serenda tamen illis suaderem hellebori¹⁶ aliquot domi jugera, ut virtutem amplius & pios aliorum conatus non reprehendant): sin autem delicatulis istorum palatis betae nostrae (insipidae nimirum) parum sapiant, ego ut ingenue fatear (quod Alyatten illum facere jubebat olim Bias)¹⁷, cepas suas edere permittam, imo & restim, si velint, una capere.

At vero (quis coram invidia stare potest?) en hydram Lernaean! uno scilicet amputato calumniae capite suppullulant alia: aliud morosum & aculeatum genus homunculorum acerbo plane felleoque animo exclamat in me, ceu stigmaticum quendam sacrilegum aut fratricidam, turpissimum furem, plagiarium nequissimum (quod secretis passim mussitant in angulis), absurde, imperite, & immethodice disposuisse plurima in *Ecclesiastica* quadam nostra seu *concionandi methodo*¹⁸. In qua calumnia abstergenda, refellenda, tuam deinceps aequitatem (Lector benevole) appello, tuamque imploro supplex humanitatem, patientiam, tantisper dum res uti expedita fuerit paucis audieris.

Edideram sane (iratis, uti reor, Musis genioque sinistro) nuper publi-

¹³ With allusion to Hor., *A.P.*, 139.

¹⁴ *Lappago* is an unknown plant mentioned in Plin. *N.H.* 26.102.

¹⁵ A phrase reported by Lucilius (1315 Krenkel) to have been coined by M. Licinius Crassus Agelastus when he saw an ass eating thistles; see Cic., *Tusc. Disp.*, 3.31 and St. Jerome, *Epist.*, 7.5.

¹⁶ In the ancient world hellebore was regarded as a cure for madness.

¹⁷ See Diog. Laert., l. 83. To be told to 'eat one's own onions' implies being told to 'go weep', a Greek expression much like our 'go hang'.

¹⁸ The reference is to C's *Oratoria Sacra* (above, n. 4).

and services of others—they speak ill because they have not learned to speak well—and treat me not as I deserve but as their natural way is. But if those persons should be pregnant mountains—or pregnant hillocks—sooner or later they would be in labor with the mean progeny of their pinsized brains; and I daresay there would be coming to birth just as ridiculous *mice*¹³—just as graceless little attempts at books—as this present one of mine—which many another and perhaps I myself (saving your reverence, Reader) would be likely to hold in the estimation of lavatory paper.

Let them bring me on to their stage, let them mix sky with earth, and let them make sport of my productions—nor does this affect me one jot since I know that greater scholars and more saintly men the world over—whose writings, when they saw the light, had received the loud applause of the good—were hissed and slowclapped off by those wastrels: and a person who has ever learned that Socrates, Aristides, Cato, etc.—but they cannot wholly fail to catch my drift. So if those dunderheads don't cease carping or pulling nasty faces at the polyanths, lappagines¹⁴, roses, and lilies that are budding all over my Garden of Eloquence, let them forth and freely feed on their own scallions, cabbages, sorrel, and dogroses—so that it may be a case of 'like lips, like lettuces'¹⁵.—Yet I would urge them to sow a few homeacres with hellebore¹⁶, so that they don't any more reprehend virtue and the pious endeavors of others.—But if my own beets—insipid ones naturally—have too little taste for their so refined palates, then I—to make a frank confession—would do as Bias¹⁷ once bade the famous Alyattes do, and give them leave to eat their own onions—and, if they like, find room for the string as well, into the bargain.

However—who can succeed when faced with malicious envy?—look!—the Lernaean Hydra! I.e., as fast as one head of slander is cut off, others sprout forth: another surly and stinging lot of non-entities cry out upon me with a spirit full of bitterness and gall, as if I were some kind of branded scoundrel or fratricide, a disgusting thief, an utterly vile plagiarist—so they are everywhere whispering in secret corners—saying that I have deployed a great mass of things absurdly, unskilfully, and unmethodically, in a certain *Ecclesiastica* or *Method of Preaching*¹⁸ that I wrote. In wiping out and rebutting this slander, I call in turn upon your own sense of justice, kind Reader, and I humbly crave your humanity—your patience—for just so long as it will take to tell you briefly what really happened in this case.

383 citus *Oratoriam* quandam *Sacram*¹⁹, majori cuidam | operi meo, *Oleo* nimirum *Sacro e divinis Scripturis expresso*, appendiculam; cujus neque stamina neque licia pro meis venditare, ne per somnium quidem cogitavi unquam: quod cuivis ingenuo Lectori patebit facile ex disertis ipsius *Epistolae* verbis, in hunc modum — ‘Centonem verius ex varijs θεορρημόνων ἀνδρῶν purpuris consarcinatum, sermonibus publice habitis observatum, scriptisque eodem passim argumento tractatibus selectum’²⁰. Proinde quod de *Politicis* suis perscite Lipsius, in opere isto vere dicere possum, omnia nostra esse et nihil²¹.

Praeterea notae marginales ad literas istas (b) (c) & (e) argumento esse possunt me, alienum tunc agnovisse opus, nec authorum nomina ullo dolo celavisse — (b) ‘Accipe igitur opusculum de inconnexis continuum, de diversis unum, de alieno nostrum’²². — (c) ‘Est enim benignum, ut arbitror, & plenum ingenui pudoris, fateri per quos profeceris’²³. (e) ‘Obnoxij profecto animi, & infelicis ingenij est, deprehendi in furto malle quam mutuum reddere’²⁴.

Certe abfuisse mihi longe plagij omnis studium aut de aliena purpura superbiendi, sancte dejerare coram vel ipso Deo cordium scrutatore ausim: imo novem²⁵ de eodem argumento Scriptorum nomina appo-
384 suisse margini: Keckermanni, Zepperi, Alstedij, Amesij, | Perkinsij, Barnardi, Chappelli, Willisij, Becketi, Vicarsij²⁶ & Erasmi demum Roterod. *Ecclesiast. seu de ratione concionandi*²⁷. — Sed quo fato meo

¹⁹ See previous note.

²⁰ *Orat. Sacr.* (above, note 4), 471.

²¹ Justus Lipsius (Joest Lips, 1547-1606), the Flemish scholar and moral and political theorist. C. refers to his *Politicorum Libri sex*, published in 1589. There was an English translation in 1594.

²² *Orat. Sacr.* (above, n. 4), 471, quoting from the dedication to Paulus of Auson., *Cent. Nupt.*

²³ *Orat. Sacr.* (above, n. 4), 471, quoting Plin., *N.H.*, praef. 21.

²⁴ *Orat. Sacr.* (above, n. 4), 471, quoting Plin., *N.H.*, praef. 23.

²⁵ Actually ten, plus Erasmus.

²⁶ Bartholomew Keckermann (1571-1609), Danzig-born polymath, whose books include *Rhetoricae Ecclesiasticae ... libri duo* (3rd ed., Hanau 1606) and *A Manuduction to Theologie, written in Latin by B.K., done into English by T.V.* (apparently London 1620). (2) Wilhelm Zepper, author of *Ars habendi et audiendi conciones* (1598), to which C. refers, and other works. (3) Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638), encyclopedist and writer of many religious and educational works; teacher of Comenius. (4) William Ames (1576-1633); puritan theologian and casuist. (5) William Perkins (1558-1602), author of *Armilla Aurea* (1590), *Prophetica, sive de unica ratione concionandi* (1592), to which C. refers, *A Reformed Catholike* (1597), etc. Tutor of William Ames (above). (6) ‘Barnard’ is Richard Bernard (1568-1641), puritan theologian and controversialist; rector of Batcombe in Somerset from 1613. He had expressed approval of

I had indeed recently published—to the anger, I daresay, of the muses and the misliking of my own tutelary spirit—a kind of *Sacred Rhetoric*¹⁹, a small appendix to a certain larger work of mine, viz. the *Holy Oyle ... Expressed from the Sacred Scriptures*. Of this neither thread nor thrum did I at any time fancy even in a dream that I was putting on sale as my own; and this will easily be apparent to any ingenuous reader from the eloquent words of the (prefatory) Epistle itself, as follows: 'more accurately a cento that has been patched together from the varied purples of divines, noticed in sermons that were preached in public and selected from tractates, wherever written, of the same subject-matter'²⁰. Thus, I can truly say of the work what Lipsius²¹ wittily said of his own *Politics*, that 'everything and nothing is my own'.

Furthermore, the marginal notes (b), (c), and (e) can serve as proof that I acknowledged at the time the work of others and did not with any guile conceal the names of the authors.—(b) 'Accept therefore an opusculum made continuous out of unconnected pieces, made one out of diverse items, made my own out of the work of others'²².—(c) 'It is to my mind a kind gesture and a thing that shows honorable modesty to confess through whom one has been benefited'²³. (e) 'Surely it is the mark of an abject and unfortunate character to prefer to be caught in a theft rather than pay a debt'²⁴.

Indeed I would dare to take a solemn oath even in the presence of God the Searcher of hearts that thought of any plagiarizing or of lording it in another man's purple was far from my mind: rather, that I placed in the margin the names of nine²⁵ writers with the same subject-matter—Keckermann, Zepper, Alsted, Ames, Perkins, Barnard, Chappell, Willis, Becket, Vicars²⁶, and lastly the *Ecclesiastes* or *On the Method of Preaching*²⁷ of Erasmus of Rotterdam.—But that—by what bad

C's *Holy Oyle* and *Orat. Sacr.* (above, n. 4). (7) Doubtless William Chappell (1582-1649), fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge and one-time tutor of Milton. He was to become dean of Cashel (1633), Provost of Trinity College, Dublin (1637) and bishop of Cork (1638). His *Methodus Concionandi* (method of preaching) seems not to have been published till 1648 but some of the material was evidently in circulation at the time C. writes. (8) 'Willis' is possibly John Willis, author of *Mnemonicæ, sive Ars Reminiscendi* (1618) and a work on stenography. (9) Becket—identity unestablished. (10) 'Vicars' will be John Vicars (1580?-1652), schoolmaster, poetaster, and controversialist, unless he is Thomas Vicars, the 'T.V.' of (1) above.

²⁷ Erasmus, *Ecclesiastes sive De Ratione Concionandi Libri Quatuor* = Vol. V, cols. 769 ff. in the Leiden (1703-1706) ed. of Erasmus' works.

plane nescio, vel deleta ab alijs, qui manuscriptum viderant in typographio & bibliopolio (viderant enim multi, & hanc illis licet absens indulseram libertatem), vel ab ipsis forsitan autoribus fuisse; quorum aliqui in vivis jam sunt: quibus ingenue fatebar coram, eorum me usum opera, multosque sericatos limbos e sua tela extraxisse; quos probe memini suasisse mihi & rogasse obnixius, ut eorum saltem parcerem nominibus. — Isti sua, forsitan & caeterorum, expunxerant nomina cum essent postea Londini, ut et alia insuper multa per totum *phraseologiae* nostrae opus²⁸; sic famae interim suae consulentes, magnam mihi tum^d invidiam tum infamiam conflaverunt obiter.

385 Taceant isti igitur clancularij delatores, susurrones nihil nisi fel & atrum virus spirantes, desinant saniem eructare suam denuo; desinant ceu canes timidiusculi cauda adblandiri coram, ne gry | quidem hiscere audentes apud me, quamvis a tergo latrent vehementius: prodeant ad faciem, carpant, redarguant, accusent modo praesentem, imo condemnent libere. Certe novi me hominem esse plurimis erroribus vitijsque grandibus obnoxium (Domine quis novit quoties peccaverit?)²⁹, perlubenti autem pacatoque animo gratias illi maximas agnoscerem, qui me vel in moribus vel scriptis lapsantem admoneret candide. — Interim (ut Augustinus olim)³⁰ velim *ita reprehendant apud alios, ut non taceant apud me*.

Calumniae enim hujusmodi clanculum disseminatae, animum plane virulentum nec christianum candorem sapiunt. Cur enim fratrem odere suum in corde³¹, sugillant ore, nec de erratis eum candide admonent? Cur fratrum suorum nuditatem malevolis exponunt deridendam (ut maledictus Cham)?³² Cur censuras suas & criticismos clandestinos dispersunt, nec ut vivos vellicent solos, sed et mortuorum scripta, imo sepulchra suffodiant impie? Si isthaec pietas, haec si charitas, quid tum perfidia, quidve calumnia? —

²⁸ What does C. mean by *phraseologia*? He was in fact to compile a *Phraseologia Puerilis Anglo-Latina* which was entered in the Stationers' Register on Jan. 8 1638 and published later that year. But rather than suppose him to be referring in this passage to some unknown earlier form of that collection, we must take *phraseologia* here to be an allusion to his *Holy Oyle* (above, n. 4), with reference to its subtitle, *Scripture-Phrases Alphabetically Disposed*.

²⁹ Psalm, 19.12 (*B.C.P.* version rather than the Vulgate or the King James Bible).

³⁰ From a letter of St. Augustine to St. Jerome, Aug., *Epist.* 82.31, rec. A. Goldbacher, Pars II = C.S.E.L. XXXIII (Vienna, 1898), p. 382 = Migne *PL* 33.289.

³¹ Lev., 19.17 (Vulg.).

^d C. may have intended *cum*.

luck of mine I absolutely do not know—they were either deleted by others who had seen the manuscript at the printer's and bookseller's—for many had seen it and, though absent, I had granted them this liberty—or perhaps by the authors themselves—some of whom are alive today—to whom I made open and frank admission that I had used their work and had drawn from their web many silken selvages; and I well remember that they urged and pressed me at least to withhold their names. These people had perhaps deleted their own names and those of others, when they were subsequently in London, just as they did with many other things as well throughout my gathering of phrases²⁸. Thus while meantime consulting the interest of their own good name they incidentally both gave rise to great ill-will against me and brought me into great disrepute.

So let them be silent, those skulking accusers, those whisperers breathing nothing but gall and black poison—let them stop spewing out again their own bloody slaver—let them cease, like craven pups, to wag their tail fawningly in my presence—not daring even to let out a single yap to my face—although behind my back they keep up a fierce yelping. Let them come and face me, let them criticize, refute, accuse, provided it is done in my presence—let them even freely condemn. I have no illusions but that I am a human being, liable to many errors and great faults—O Lord, who knoweth how many times he hath sinned?²⁹—but with a glad and tranquil mind I would render the warmest thanks to anyone who, if I lapse in conduct or in my writings, would admonish me frankly.—Meantime—as Augustine³⁰ once said—I wish they would not criticize me before others unless they also spoke up in my own presence.

The secret dissemination of such slander smacks of a very poisonous mind and no Christian candor. Why do they hate their own brother in their heart³¹, bruise him with their mouths, and not frankly admonish him about his mistakes? Why do they uncover the nakedness of their own brethren to the derision of the malevolent—as did Ham the accursed?³²—Why do they scatter abroad their secret censures and criticisms—and not for the purpose of carping at the living alone, but of impiously undermining the writings, or rather the graves, of the dead? If this is piety, if this is charity, what then would treachery or calumny be? 'Would these things be done if there were alive amongst

³² Gen., 9.18-27 (Vulg.). Strictly it was not Ham but his son Chanaan who was cursed, but the curse arose from an action of Ham's.

*Haec fierent si testiculi vena ulla paterni
Viveret in nobis?*³³

— Obtrectatores istos si forsitan aliquid scripsissent publice, aequel
386 laturos | esse non existimo, si quis eos clandestinis afficeret convitijs
aut ridendos alijs rodendosve exponat. Cur igitur alteri id faciunt,
quod sibi fieri nollent? Haec enim lex est illa basilica³⁴, quam Christus
inculcat suis; & hac saltem aequitate non indignus videri ego poteram,
ut me tam atrocissimi criminis admonerent prius, nec tam odiosis
nominibus palam incesserent, qui, seu plagium odere seu Pelagium,
sciant et me odisse pariter.

Annon licuit olim, semperque licebit, aliorum frui laboribus, alterius
de lumine lumen nostrum accendere? Non erat mihi animus *Notas* illas
*Ecclesiasticas*³⁵ quas privato destinaram usui, foris emittere (utinam
non emiseram!), donec importuna efflagitatio amicorum (haud facile
scio an inimicorum in hac re) mihi extorserat, apertae ingenuitatis
homini, qui nihil meis negare soleam; nedum velle tandem (quod
vituperones illi blaterant tamen) alieno furtim melle nostras Oratorias
387 distendisse cellulas : istius utpote methodi versio³⁶ (de qua tam | indigne
vellicor) mea fuit, transtuli ego (ut olim ille) e vernacula bona in
latinam non bonam³⁷ : ac proinde, ut Fidentinus apud Poetam,

*Male dum recito, incipit esse mea*³⁸.

Apagesis igitur maledicentia, apagite canes rabidi, qui cum loqui
potestis, maluistis allatrare praetereuntes; me quod attinet hac in re,
pro nihilo habeo ab illis sic damnatum iri, habeo me jam absolventem
intus instar mille testium conscientiam; atque alio mox tribunali omnes
sistendi sumus³⁹, ubi exigentur a singulis ratio, etiam omnium calum-
niantium sermonum &c. — Ferenda sunt interim dignissimis Dei servis
multa indigna; quomodo igitur eveniret mihi aliter? Nonne doctissimi
scriptores, poetae, historici, suos habebant olim mastigas, Zoilos?⁴⁰ —

³³ Pers., l. 102-103.

³⁴ Mat., 7.12.

³⁵ The reference is again to his *Orat. Sacr.* (above, n. 4).

³⁶ Again the *Orat. Sacr.* (above, n. 4).

³⁷ Luscius Lanuvinus, Roman dramatist, in his adaptations of Greek comedies; this criticism is leveled against him by Terence, *Eun.*, prol. 7-8.

³⁸ Mart., l. 38, cf. 53.

³⁹ St. Paul, 2 Cor., 5.10.

⁴⁰ Zoilus, fourth cent. B.C. Cynic philosopher noted for the bitterness of his attacks on Isocrates, Plato, and especially Homer. He came to be called 'Homero-mastix' (scourge of Homer).

us any spark of our fathers' manly vigor?'³³ Suppose these revilers had published something, I don't think they would take it with equanimity if someone were attacking them with secret insults, or exposed them to be tittered at, or rather tattered to pieces, by others. So why do they do to another what they would not like done to themselves?—for this is that royal law³⁴ which Christ impresses upon his own; and I could not have seemed undeserving of at any rate this much fair play, that they should first have admonished me of such a heinous allegation, and not publicly assailed me with such hateful names, when they knew, alike whether it was a plagiarist or a Pelagius that they hated, that I too hate such equally.

Has it not been lawful in the past, and will it not always be so, to profit by the labors of others and to light our own lamp from our neighbor's? It had not been my intention to publish to the world those *notae ecclesiasticae* or notes on preaching³⁵ which I had designed for private use—and how I wish I had not published them!—until the persistent pleas of friends—I do not well know whether they were not rather enemies in this matter—had extorted this from me—a man of frank ingenuousness, who am not in the habit of denying anything to my friends—much less of desiring—as those scandal-mongers blather none the less—to have crammed my own Oratorical cells with honey stolen from others: in any case the (Latin) translation of that Method³⁶—concerning which I am so cruelly carped at—was my own—I translated it—as one whom you will call to mind also once did in his own case—from a good vernacular into Latin that was not good³⁷: and so like Fidentinus in the poem, 'while I badly recite it, it begins to be my own'³⁸.

Away then with maledictions—begone, you mad dogs, who, when you have the power of speech, would rather bark at passersby. As far as I am concerned in this matter, I don't at all care that I am going to be condemned by them like this—I have a conscience which is worth a thousand witnesses, already absolving me within; and hereafter we have all to be brought before another tribunal³⁹, where an account will also be required from every individual of all his slanderous speeches etc.—Meantime there have to be endured by the worthiest servants of God many undeserved ills—so how should it be otherwise with me? Did not the most learned writers, poets, historians of old have their own scourges, their Zoiluses?⁴⁰ Did not Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, indeed even Christ himself, suffer to the end all kinds of revilings and insults?

Nonne Ambrosius, Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Hieronymus, imo et Christus ipse omnigena convitia & opprobria perpessus est?

Ignoscas acerbitati siqua fuit meae, Lector benevole, in sterquilinio hoc refodiendo, venenata invidiae spicula retundendo, maledicorum
 388 ora fimeto suo obstruendo: indignitas certe crimi-|nationis mihi, praeter meritum ut vides meum, intentatae, torrente me suo invitum abripuit violenter. Nolim certe ego calumniatorum opprobria (ut Diogenes olim Platonis superbiam)⁴¹ majori contumelia illis exprobrare; nam maledicendo vincere est vinci; & Christianae mansuetudinis esse censeo non vinci a malo, sed malum bono nostro superare⁴². Vale. Deus teque bonosque pariter omnes a flagello linguae maledicae⁴³ sub alarum suarum umbraculo abscondat semper.

* * *

Quod ad errata typographica spectat, siqua irrepsisse iterum compereris in hac etiam quarta editione, amice quaeso ut emendes, neque praelia cum prelo pertinax geras. Absentia fortassis mea (authoris) qui per centena (aut super) passuum milia a typotheta abfuerim, occasionem illi est data (quantum vis cauto), quo tamen vitio pauci admodum peccant (utinam illi quibus sacrorum Bibliorum Graecique Testamenti impressio demandata est saepius foede non hallucinarentur), ut aliquando forsitan invitus impingeret. Nam quod de praelio passim proverbiascit (sanguinolentam, viz. esse pugnam unde nemo fugit), idem
 389 plerumque accidit in prelo; nonnulla ipsum (tametsi | centoculum) Argum fugitura sunt errata, ne supra mortalitatem istam sapere videamur. Humanum enim est errare. Tu autem pro humanitate tua (humanissime Lector) ignoscas quaeso homini, emenda quae repereris alicubi menda, & scopum authoris, tuae (scilicet) publicaeque utilitatis desiderium, magnifacito. Vale⁴⁴.

⁴¹ Diogenes of Sinope, Cynic philosopher, is more than once said to have needled Plato over his pride. Plato retaliated in kind. See esp. Diog. Laert., 6.26 and 41.

⁴² St. Paul, Rom., 12.21.

⁴³ Job, 5.21.

⁴⁴ To this epilogue C. adds as a postscript: *Sed et hoc tibi innuendum (Lector benevole) secundam praxeos grammaticae editionem, longe longeque accuratiorem, jam esse in manibus typographi, quam mox in lucem denuo emittendam expectes. Rursum Vale.* 'But there is another thing which must be intimated to you—kind Reader—namely, that a second edition of the grammatical *Praxis*—a very much more accurate one—is now in the hands of the printer, and you may expect its publication soon. Once more,

Forgive any bitterness I may have shown, kind Reader, in digging over this dunghheap—in blunting the poisoned darts of envy—in stuffing the mouths of evil-speakers with their own filth. Indeed the indignity of the charges against me, contrary, as you see, to my desert, has carried me violently away with its torrent. I would certainly not wish, with regard to the insults of slanderers, to cast them in their teeth with worse contumely—as Diogenes⁴¹ once did to the arrogance of Plato: For to conquer in abusing is to be conquered; and I think it is in keeping with Christian meekness not to be conquered by evil but to overcome evil by our own goodness⁴². Farewell. May God ever shelter you, and all good men—from the lash of an abusive tongue⁴³—beneath the shadow of His wings.

* * *

With regard to typographical errors, if you find that some have crept in even in this fourth edition, I beg you to correct them as a friend would, and not stubbornly keep up combative pressure upon the press. Perhaps the absence of myself—the author—who was a hundred miles or more distant from the printer—will likely give him occasion—however careful he is—though very few are guilty of this fault—I wish that those to whom is committed the printing of the the Holy Bible and the Greek Testament did not so often fall into such vile aberration—give him occasion of perhaps sometimes printing otherwise than he intends. For what is everywhere getting to be a byword about combat—viz. that it is a bloody combat from which no one escapes—the same thing happens for the most part in regard to the press; some errors are likely to escape the notice of Argus himself—hundred-eyed though he is—lest we should seem to have more wisdom than properly falls to our mortal lot. To err is human. But you in keeping with the humaneness that is yours—most humane Reader—please forgive a fellow human being, correct what faults you find anywhere, and set high store by the author's aim, namely, a desire for your own and the general advantage. Farewell⁴⁴.

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farewell'. The promised revision of C's grammatical *Praxis* came out in 1633, bound together with his *Dux Grammaticus*.

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MISCELLANEA

— NOTE ON THE PREFACE IN THE PARIS EDITION OF THE POEMS OF JAMES FOULLIS

In volume twenty-four of this journal J. IJsewijn and D. F. S. Thomson published an edition of the Latin poems of James Foullis¹. In the article 1512 was pointed to as the most likely year in which the Paris edition of Foullis's poems was published. This view was based primarily on the statement by Foullis in the preface that a year had elapsed since he left Paris for Orleans. Since his departure from Paris had been dated to December, 1510, the justifiable conclusion was that the preface could not have been written before the very end of 1511 at the earliest.

Another passage from the preface, however, was adduced in support: "paulisper mihi haesitabundo suppetebat ut bonam altero nunc anno, si recte memini, a duodecimo patriae partem pestilentia crudelissimo hyatu obsorbuerat foedaveratque" (par. 3). The meaning of the rather strange phrase "altero nunc anno, si recte memini, a duodecimo" was suggested to be "about two years before the year (15)12". The diffidence of the authors of the article about this phrase seems justified, since the meaning which they assign to it—the only meaning that seems possible—does not agree with the date of the plague in Edinburgh, to which the phrase must refer. As is stated in the article, the plague occurred in Edinburgh at the end of the fifteenth century, in 1498 or 1499, i.e. thirteen or fourteen years before Foullis published his poems. Moreover, even if we were to suppose that the plague actually took place in Edinburgh in 1510, "si recte memini" would be an odd phrase to use about the recollection of an event that occurred only two years before the time of publication.

I suggest one solution to the difficulty. Foullis wrote "altero nunc anno ... a MD°" but the printer read a badly made M as XII and then ignored the D as meaningless. In other words, Foullis wrote that the plague destroyed a good part of his native land "two years before 1500, if I remember correctly". The printer's error may have been precipitated

¹ J. IJsewijn and D. F. S. Thomson, "The Latin Poems of Jacobus Follisius or James Foullis of Edinburgh", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 102-152.

or aided by his own experience in *his* native land. As is stated in the article (p. 138, n. 1) the plague ravaged Paris in 1510—"altero anno a duodecimo"!

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— THE REAL NAME OF JOHANNES PLACENTIVS.

Johannes Leo Placentius (ca. 1500-1548?), a minor sixteenth-century humanist of the Southern Netherlands, was born at Sint-Truiden, Limburg. After his studies at Louvain he spent most of his life at Maastricht where he entered the Dominican order. He is known as a church historian, a playwright and the author of a poetical oddity, the *Pugna Porcorum*, which is a poem whose every word begins with a P and which in some way or another is connected with student life in the Louvain Collegium Porci.

The real name of Placentius has been a matter of discussion ever since the eighteenth century. J. Paquot turned it into the French Plaisant without offering a scrap of proof. Madeleine Lavoye, following U. Capitaine, thought of the Flemish name Vrolijk or Vrolijk. It is, however, hardly conceivable that a humanist would have translated Vrolijk by Placentius and not by Laetus which is a far more obvious and popular humanist name: compare e.g. Pomponius Laetus in Rome or Erasmus Laetus (= Glad) in Denmark.

With far more probability J. Gessler proposed a form of the very common Limburgian name Struven, Struiven, Strouven. The Dutch word Struif (a kind of cake) corresponds with the Latin Placenta. Gessler's hypothesis can now be confirmed by an entry in the students' register of Louvain on June 1, 1565: 'Magister Joannes Placentius alias Struyven a Vellem'. This student may have been a younger relative of the Dominican. In any case he came from the same area: the village Vellem, now Velm, is situated only a few kilometres south of Sint-Truiden.

LIT: J. IJsewijn, 'Joannes Placentius, *Pugna Porcorum* ..., Antwerpen ... 1533', in the Exhibition Catalogue *550 Jaar Universiteit Leuven* (Louvain 1976), pp. 138-139 nr. 207 (with further bibliography);

Madeleine Lavoye, 'La vie et l'œuvre de Jean Placentius de Saint-Trond', *Bulletin Société Bibliophiles Liégeois*, 19(1956), 29-47.

J. IJsewijn

— HANERON, 'IHERONIMUS' AND ST. JEROME.

In the introduction to her edition of Anthonius Haneron's *Ars Dictandi* (*Hum. Lov.*, 24 [1975], 60) Jacqueline IJsewijn-Jacobs says that in the unique Louvain manuscript—Bibl. Fac. Theologie, nr. 23—the text of the treatise is followed by the enigmatical name 'Iheronimus Marcelle de Onaso' and of an invective letter which has nothing to do with the *Ars* itself.

This problem can be solved. In fact, this name is not a name but the short title of St. Jerome's *Epistola 40* (ed.: Saint Jérôme, *Lettres*, tome II, ed. J. Labourt, Collection Belles Lettres, Paris, 1951, pp. 85-87): 'Hieronymus Marcellae, de Onaso'. The text which follows consists of various fragments of this letter to Marcella and this invective against a certain Onasus indeed has no relation with the text of Haneron except that it was used to fill up f. 69^v of the Louvain *raparium*.

Leuven.

M. Haverals

INSTRUMENTUM CRITICUM

1) DEUX CORRECTIONS AUX TEXTES D'ÉRASME ÉDITÉS PAR HOLBORN

Le texte des préfaces dont Érasme a fait précéder ses éditions du Nouveau Testament, tel qu'on le trouve dans l'ouvrage de H. et A. Holborn, D. Erasmus Roterodamus, *Ausgewählte Werke* (München 1933, réimpression 1964), n'est pas tout à fait exempt d'erreurs. Tant que ces introductions au Nouveau Testament n'auront pas paru dans la nouvelle édition d'Amsterdam, la correction de deux erreurs de l'édition Holborn, qui se répandent déjà dans la littérature plus récente, ne sera peut-être pas inutile.

Dans l'*Apologia* (Holborn p. 172, l. 15) il faut écrire *tegam* au lieu de *legam*. La leçon *tegam* se lit dans toutes les éditions du Nouveau Testament qu'Érasme lui-même a préparées, ainsi que dans l'édition de Leyde. Que *tegam* soit la leçon correcte est confirmé par la paraphrase du passage en question qu'Érasme a donnée dans l'*Apologia respondens ad ea quae taxauerat Stunica* (LB IX, 326 E). Dans cette paraphrase, Érasme dit : *dixeram alias me tegere* Dans le texte que G. B. Winkler a repris de Holborn dans son *Erasmus von Rotterdam. Vorreden zum Neuen Testament* (Darmstadt 1967, p. 108), l'erreur signalée ici n'a pas été corrigée, d'où résulte une traduction erronée.

Il en est de même pour le fameux passage de la *Paraclesis*, où Érasme plaide pour l'introduction d'une Bible à l'usage des laïcs. Selon le texte de Holborn l'humaniste aurait voulu qu'en méditant les récits de la Bible, le voyageur *itineris taedium lenet* (p. 142, l. 23). Mais Érasme lui-même écrivit : ... *leuet*; c'est la leçon qu'on trouve dans toutes ses propres éditions du Nouveau Testament et dans l'édition de Leyde. La faute de plume ou d'impression *lenet* a été recopiée par Winkler (p. 14), qui, à en juger par sa traduction, a pris cette forme verbale pour un dérivé de *lenire*!

Qu'on corrige donc *legam* en *tegam* et *lenet* en *leuet*.

Henk Jan de Jonge

2) Tribrachus Gaspar.

Paoletti L., 'A proposito di G. Tribraco, *De apparatu*, 259-62', *GSLI*, 151 (1974), 158-160, locum emendavit carminis *De apparatu contra Turcum*.

3) Laurentius Petri Gothus.

J. Öberg aliquot errores correxit editionis carminum minorum, quam curavit B. Bergh (Lund, 1973) : *Fornvännan*, 70 (1975), 49-56.

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM

NEO-LATINA RECENS EDITA

Litterarum et linguae studium spectantia.

Abbreviations :

BHR	= <i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> .
Class. Infl.	= <i>Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 1500-1700</i> , edited by R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge U.P., 1976).
GSLI	= <i>Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana</i> .
HL	= <i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> .
IMU	= <i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i> .
Rin.	= <i>Rinascimento</i> .

1. General

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INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

NEW DICTIONARIES

- F. Blatt, *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC*, fasc. O-OCYTER (Hafniae, E. Munksgaard, 1975).
- J. W. Fuchs & Olga Weijers, *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, fasc. 5: AQUIMOLA - ASTRINGO (Amstelodami, A. M. Hakkert, 1975).
- M. Plezia, *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*. Vol. IV, fasc. 1 (29): F-FICTUS (Warszawa, 1975).

INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

List of Latin words to be found in this volume, but not in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* nor in Forcellini's *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*. Words to be found in dictionaries of mediaeval Latin are marked with an asterisk (*). The late mediaeval grammar of Haneron, edited on pp. 1-83 has not been taken into account here.

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|--|---|
| *anitergium, <i>lavatory paper</i> : p. 272 | cothurnulus, <i>small buskin</i> : p. 268 |
| areatim, [<i>sown</i>] with beds: p. 266 | criticismus, <i>criticism</i> : p. 276 |
| balbiloquus, <i>stammering</i> : p. 219, v. 350 | *decoctrix (gula), <i>squandering</i> (gluttony): |
| *bibliopolium, <i>book shop</i> : p. 276 | p. 255, v. 474 |
| circumdeductitare, <i>to turn around</i> : p. 104, | *delicatus, <i>refined (taste)</i> : p. 272 |
| v. 131 | distrudere, <i>to snatch from</i> : p. 102, v. 96 |
| circumruere, <i>to collapse</i> : p. 108, v. 176 | evitrescere, <i>to become glassy</i> : p. 124, v. 433 |
| clangifragus, <i>clangorous</i> : p. 102, v. 96 | formiceus, <i>of ants</i> : p. 134, v. 381 |
| coexsequi, <i>to perform together</i> : p. 140, | hypogastria (n.pl.), <i>abdomen</i> : p. 246, |
| v. 657 | v. 255 |
| cohorrere, <i>to fear</i> : p. 100, v. 79 | |

- immethodice, *unmethodically* : p. 272
 indolere, *to repent* : p. 132, v. 560
 larvula, *spook* : p. 136, v. 607
 lassator, *tormentor* : p. 251, v. 399; p. 252, v. 263
 Lucalia, Lucanalia, *St. Luke's feast* : p. 206
 magistellulus, *bad teacher* : p. 270
 maioricatus, *deed of entail* : p. 224
 obindutus, *garbed in* : p. 140, v. 663
 otiosulus, *idle* : p. 270
 paedagogulus, *bad paedagogue* : p. 270
 peroccurrere, *to face* : p. 142, v. 708
 plebescere, *to become part of the 'plebs'* : p. 257, v. 368, v. 531
 pontarchus, *sea-lord, admiral* : p. 224
 praedolere, *to sorrow beforehand* : p. 112, v. 252
 proverbiascere, *to get to be a byword* : p. 276
 stigmaticus, *branded* : p. 272
 studiosulus, *young student* : p. 270
 subcrispere, *to wrinkle* : p. 104, v. 120
 subfingere, *to mask* : p. 128, v. 473
 *succludere, *to close* : p. 104, v. 126
 *suppullulare, *to sprout forth* : p. 272
 timidiusculus, *craven* : p. 276
 typographicus, *printer's* : p. 280
 typographium, *printing office* : p. 276
 typographus, *printer* : p. 280
 *typotheta, *printer* : p. 280
 ventivulus, *wind-borne* : p. 102, v. 92

NOTICE

The third international congress of Neo-Latin Studies was held at the University of Tours (France) from 5 to 10 September 1976. At the end of the congress Prof. Richard J. Schoeck (U of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado 80302, U.S.A.) succeeded Prof. J. IJsewijn as president of the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies. Prof. I.D. McFarlane (Oxford) was elected first vice-president. The fourth congress will be held at the end of August 1979, possibly in Italy.

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2. INDEX NOMINUM SELECTORUM

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